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ABSTRACT

This report separates Puerto Ricans into four major subgroups: those who were born on the mainland and live either in New York City, or elsewhere in the United States, and those who were born in Puerto Rico and live either in New York City, or elsewhere in the United States. The report places considerable emphasis on those born on the mainland. A section on overall observations describes the situation on the mainland and presents the diversity characterizing the four subgroups. Sections on demographic, social, economic, and housing conditions, and on the New York City area include topics such as migration, vital statistics, education, employment, income, family and marital status, quality of housing, and geographic distribution of the group in the New York City area. A final section on future migration from the island suggests that the Puerto Rican migrant of the future will resemble the general United States population more closely than did the earlier migrants, in terms of increased schooling, better jobs, higher earning, lower fertility rates, and an urban rather than rural background. (AM)

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SOME DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PUERTO RICAN POPULATION LIVING ON THE MAINLAND, USA

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Bureau of Applied Social Research

Columbia University

November 1974

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INTRODUCTION

The "plight" of the Puerto Rican population living on the U.S. Mainland has been so much written about that another paper describing their well known problems is excess. For example, we know that the average income for all men in the U.S. in 1969 was about $7500, and for Puerto Rican men about $5200. Of all men in 1970, 3.9 percent were unemployed, and among Puerto Rican men 6.2 percent. Among women unemployment was respectively 5.2 and 8.3 percent for the Puerto Rican.

Also, the latter are less schooled than is the general population. The average Puerto Rican aged 25 and over has done little more than complete elementary school, whereas the average person in the U.S. has completed high school. About 3 in 10 Puerto Ricans live in families having income below the poverty level as compared with a little more than one in 10 in the general population. We can continue making such comparisons, but enough of the facts are known already.

Instead we shall emphasize in this report that the Puerto Rican population living on the Mainland is highly diverse rather than monolithic. Some segments compare very favorably with the general U.S. population on those characteristics which we can measure. Other segments include the poorest and most deprived persons. Most importantly, these segments are in a state of flux. Not all Puerto Ricans are irrevocably locked into a permanent fixed social or economic situation. There is movement, social, geographic, inter-generational, just as there was with

former newcomers in the U.S. Indeed, the Puerto Rican in many respects is recapitulating the experiences of the pre-World War I immigrants.

For purposes of achieving a better understanding of their situation in the Mainland, we have set up four major subgroups as follows:

a. Those who were born on the Mainland and live in New York City, about one in four of all Puerto Ricans;

b. Those born on the Mainland who live elsewhere in the U.S.; about one in seven;

c. Those born on the Island of Puerto Rico and who live in New York City, about one in three;

d. Those born on the Island who live outside New York City, about one in five.

As we shall show, these four groups are quite diverse. Those born on the Mainland are very different from their Island born parents.[1/] If one wished to institute programs of action, at least four programs are required. Unfortunately, or fortunately, there is no single program which can deal with the situation of the Puerto Ricans who are living on the Mainland. The several situations are just too different.

Furthermore, and this is of considerable importance since so many people fail to realize it, the Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens and as such have all the rights, freedoms, and obligations of all other citizens. They have served in the U.S. Armed Forces and paid taxes

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[1/] Island born persons who were brought to the Mainland when they were small children reputedly resemble the Mainland born more than their Island born parents. Unfortunately, we have no information about this segment of the population, and hence can say nothing further about their social and economic characteristics.

(in accordance with specific legal requirements)--what else does a government require? One of the most important rights is free migration. Just as a Californian or Georgian can move about the United States without restrictions, so can a Puerto Rican move--and move anywhere between the Atlantic Coast and Hawaii or Alaska. So the Puerto Ricans have left their beloved Island and ventured forth--to all the 50 States and the District of Columbia, and even further. And it is the exercise of this right--freedom of migration--which is an important underpinning of all the observations and comments which we shall present.

We must note also that the concept of Puerto Rican is not a clear cut one. A Puerto Rican can be defined as anyone who so proclaims himself. Alternatively, a Puerto Rican can be defined as one born on the Island, or who had at least one parent born there. This is the definition we are using in this report since the Census data[2/] we have used are based on this definition. But we also know that some people who were born on the Island--not many it is true--do not consider themselves as Puerto Ricans. We also know that some persons born on the Mainland had only one Puerto Rican parent. The Puerto Ricans, like all other populations, intermarry and the resulting children are no longer clearly Puerto Rican or non-Puerto Rican. Of course, literally following the Census definition makes such mixed origin persons Puerto Rican, but do they consider themselves as Puerto Rican? Who knows? Some probably do and some do not.

Furthermore, by the time we come to the third generation --persons whose parents were born on the Mainland--the situation can really become fuzzy. Is a person having one Puerto Rican grandparent a Puerto Rican?

[2/] Most of the basic data were obtained from the Census Bureau's Puerto Ricans in the United States, both for 1960 and 1970

Two Puerto Rican grandparents? We do not know how many such persons there are today, nor what they consider themselves to be. We do know, however, that in 1970 very many of the married Puerto Rican persons who were born on the Mainland had spouses who were not Puerto Rican. (This finding will be developed in more detail in the body of our report). Hence, we can look forward with confidence to the fact that by 1980 or 1990 there will be a very considerable number of persons whose Puerto Rican status will be ambiguous, to say the least.

Since we are concerned with the future as much as with the present, we shall place considerable emphasis on analysis of those persons who were born on the Mainland since they are indicators of what the future is likely to hold. They constitute an ever larger part of the total Mainland Puerto Rican population.[3/] At some future date their characteristics will describe the Puerto Rican population. In the past the characteristics of their Island born parents who constituted the bulk of the Puerto Ricans characterized the total Mainland-living population.

[3/] For the present analysis we are defining "Puerto Rican" as any one born on the Island of Puerto Rico, or who had one or both parents born there. We can do this since in 1970 there were very few persons living on the Mainland whose parents were born on the Mainland, but who would consider themselves to be of Puerto Rican origin. By 1980 or 1990, however, we expect that there will be many such third and subsequent generation people living here. At such future date, then, if asked to describe the "Puerto Rican" population we should use data for all persons who reported themselves to the Census Bureau as being of Puerto Rican origin. This is the sense in which we say that the Mainland born are"indicators of what the future is likely to hold."

In addition we must recognize that migration from the Island to the Mainland will continue indefinitely into the future. But the Island population itself has undergone vast changes since World War II, and the migrants of the 1970s and 1980s will be very different from their predecessors who migrated during the 1950s and 1960s. Hence, in order to complete our look into the future, we shall examine all too briefly, some changes which have occurred on the Island in an effort to describe the migrant of tomorrow.

Clearly, the Puerto Ricans who are living on the Mainland constitute a fluid population. Describing them at one moment of time or even two, tells us little of permanent value. The situation as of 1970 is already almost 5 years old and has undoubtedly changed. Some of these changes are probably important and others unimportant. In any event, description of the changes, of the process of adapting to the Mainland, is far more important than a static description as of one moment of time. And we shall place our emphasis on the process of change, with an eye to the future.

SOME OVERALL OBSERVATIONS

If there is any one factor of decisive importance in raising the socioeconomic position of the Puerto Rican population living in the U.S. Mainland, it is increased schooling. Those born on the Mainland have much more schooling than do those born on the Island. And the former have better jobs and are better off economically.

But even those born on the Mainland and those Island born who came to the Mainland as young children, have not received as much schooling as other segments of the general United States population. Why this is so we do not know. We only know that the Puerto Rican youngsters living in New York receive less education than those residing in other States, and even the latter lag behind the general population.

Youth in the 22 to 24 year age range and who were born on the Mainland--the indicators of the future, so to speak--have completed an average of 12.2 years of schooling; about 6 in 10 of them have graduated from high school. Among the general U.S. population of this age the average is 12.7 years--close to 8 in 10 have completed high school. To say as one Puerto Rican organization does: "If he stays in school long enough to reach high school, he is unlikely to graduate..." is a gross exaggeration, unless one wishes to disregard the evidence provided by the Census. On the other hand, if the Puerto Rican is to compete for better jobs and a better life, he or she must have as much schooling as does the competition. Hence, as we see it, there is the need to put ever more emphasis on obtaining more and more schooling, especially in New York.

As regards those born on the Island and who migrated here as adults, the extent of their schooling lags considera.ly. Whether adult education schooling will help them we do not know.

We must face the fact that migration from the Island to the Mainland will continue for an indeterminate amount of time into the future. Migrants in the 1970s and 1980s and later, however, will be much more schooled than were the migrants of the 1950s and 1960s. Accordingly, we expect that their socioeconomic position on the Mainland will be significantly better than is that of the less schooled, earlier migrants.

The Puerto Rican population is spreading out of New York City, its original point of concentration, to other parts of the U.S. Mainland. This geographic diversification seems to have the effect of integrating the Puerto Ricans, especially those born on the Mainland, into the general population. There is no question but that the socioeconomic position of those Mainland born living outside New York approaches that of the general population whereas the New Yorkers lag considerably behind. Intermarriages of Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans also occur much more frequently outside of New York, and this certainly leads to demographic, social, and cultural integration.

It is very difficult to introduce policies and formulate action programs that will induce dispersion out of New York. It should be much more feasible, however, to design an action program which will increase the amount of schooling which future generations of Puerto Rican youngsters will achieve.

I. THE SITUATION ON THE MAINLAND

Demographic and Social Conditions

A. *The volume of migration*

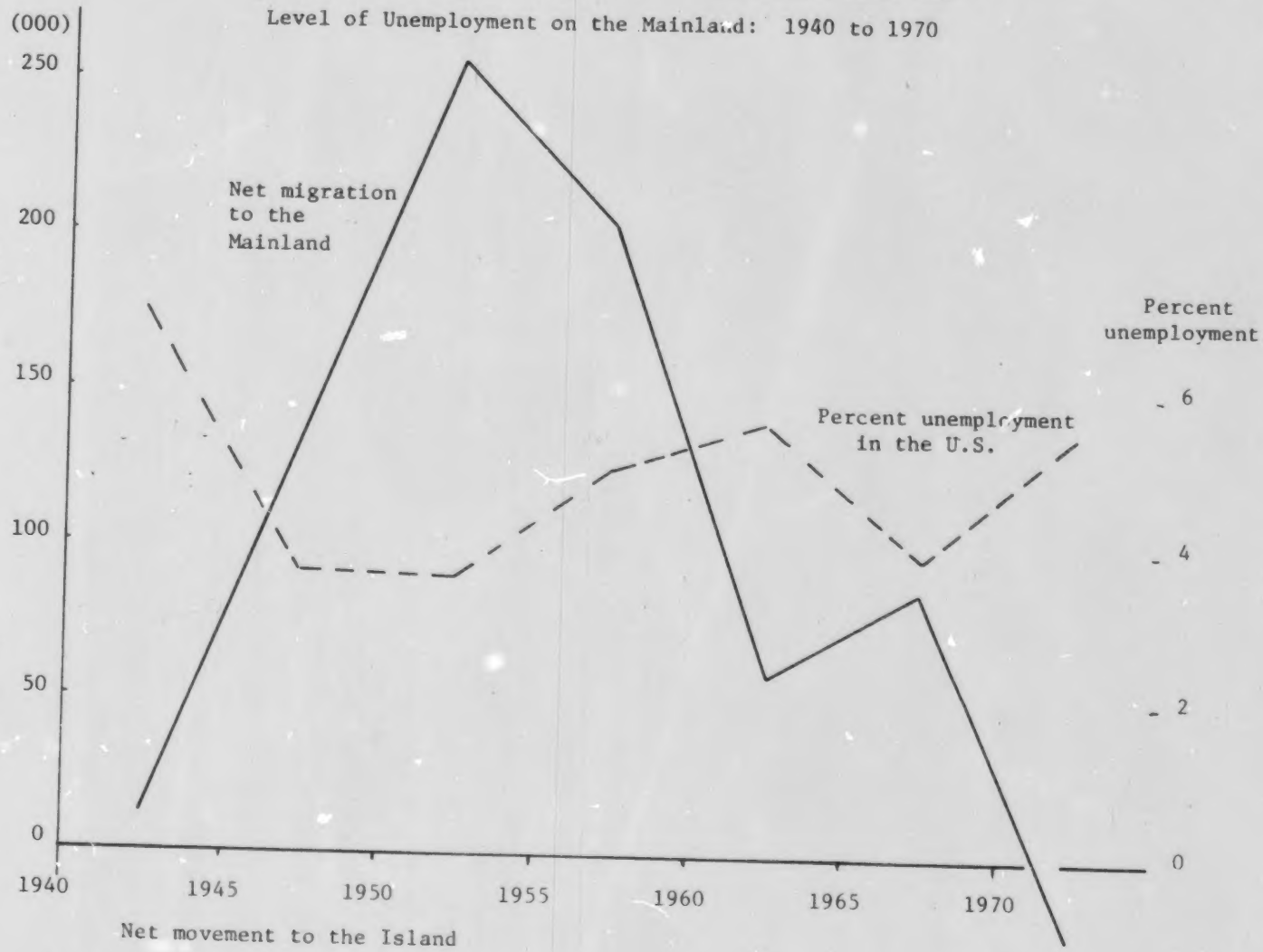
Between 1940 and 1974 it is estimated that there was a net migration of close to three-quarters of a million Islanders to the Mainland. The actual number who moved must have been significantly larger since there was return movement. However, we do not know exactly how many returned.

The volume of migration fluctuated greatly from one period to another (Chart 1), and in some years more people returned to the Island than left it. The peak period of movement to the Mainland was in the first half of the 1950s when there was a net outflow of over one-quarter million persons. The second half of the 1950s was not far behind. On the other hand, since 1970 there was a return movement to the Island of a few thousand folk.

One result of these large movements is that in 1970 about one in three of all Puerto Ricans (those living on the Island plus those on the Mainland) lived on the Mainland. In 1940 one in 20 was living here. As for the future, it is possible that more Puerto Ricans will be living on the Mainland than on the Island.

It is clear that much of the impetus to this movement away from the Island comes from the job opportunities on the Mainland. The peak migration to the Mainland coincided with the lowest levels of unemployment there--the early 1950s (Chart 1). Small amounts of migration out of, or return migration to the Island, on the other hand, coincided with periods of high unemployment on the Mainland. We can only infer that these movements reflect different employment opportunities.

Chart 1. Volume of Net Migration from Puerto Rico and Level of Unemployment on the Mainland: 1940 to 1970



But it might be argued the very great economic growth on the Island since World War II should have provided employment there. Gross Commonwealth product increased over three times between 1960 and 1972--somewhat less if inflation is taken into account, but still very considerably. Indeed, by 1972 gross domestic product (in 1954 dollars) per person was about $1200, as compared with some $700 in 1960. Yet unemployment on the Island remained consistently high over the years,about 12 percent.

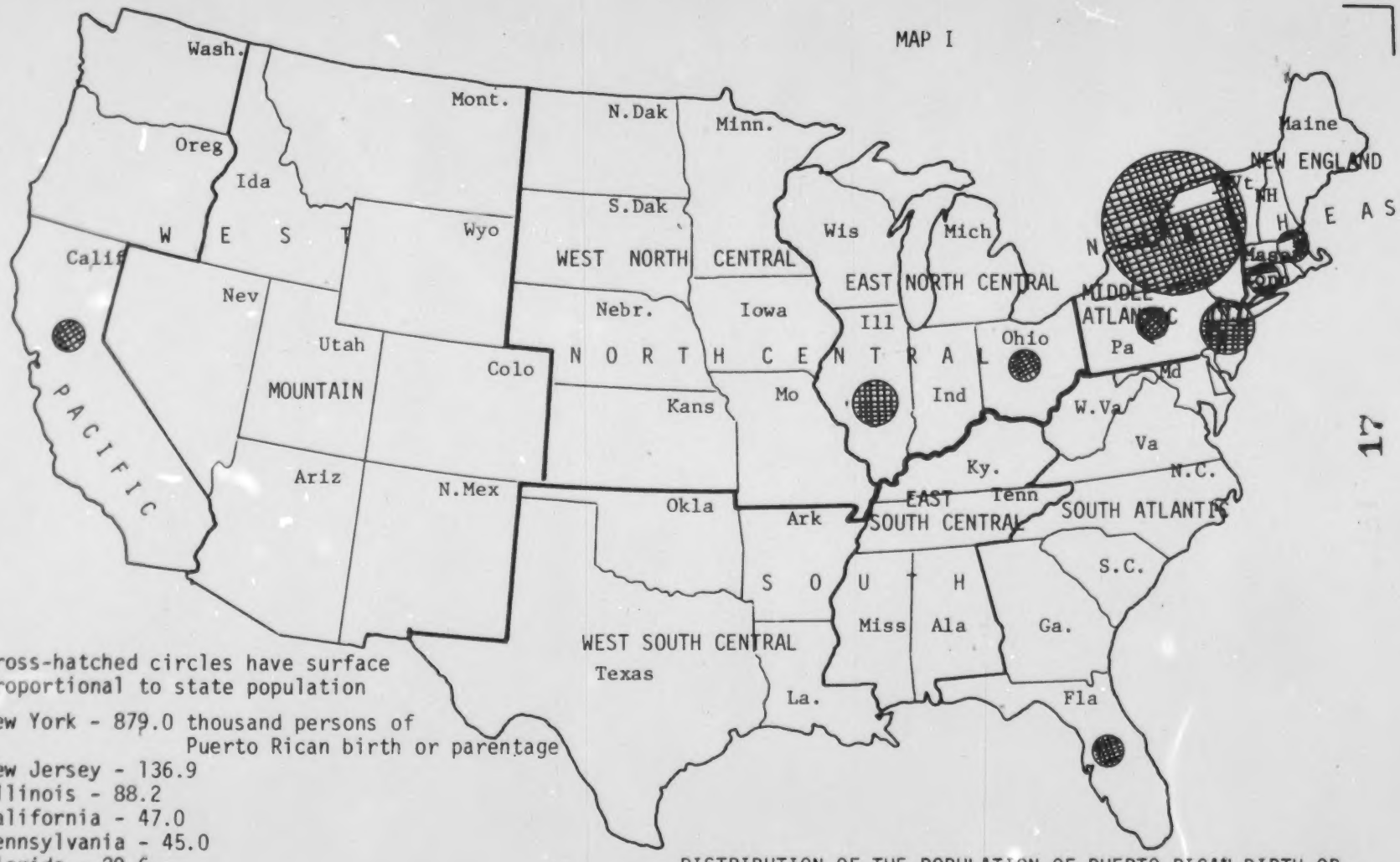
With economic growth employment increased almost 3 percent per year. But so did unemployment, since the numbers of persons of working age increased at the same 3 percent per year. Economic growth and its attendant increases in population has been unable to outstrip population growth. Clearly, many Puerto Rican workers had no choice but to seek employment elsewhere.

In summary, we expect employment conditions on the Island to continue to be insufficient for an indefinite time into the future. And we expect further movement to the Mainland whenever there will be jobs available there.

B. Where they live

More than 6 in 10 Puerto Ricans lived in the State of New York, almost all in New York City in 1970. One in 10 lived just across the Hudson River in New Jersey. Six more States together accounted for another 2 in 10--Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Illinois, California, and Florida. Fewer than one in 10 lived in the remaining 42 States plus the District of Columbia. Clearly the Puerto Rican population is far more concentrated than is the general population (Map 1).

MAP I



Cross-hatched circles have surface proportional to state population

New York - 879.0 thousand persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage
New Jersey - 136.9
Illinois - 88.2
California - 47.0
Pennsylvania - 45.0
Florida - 29.6
Massachusetts - 24.6
Ohio - 21.1
All other - 81.6

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF PUERTO RICAN BIRTH OR PARENTAGE: 1970

Since 1950 the population has dispersed a bit more throughout the Mainland; less than 2 in 10 had lived outside New York City in 1950, and a little more than 3 in 10 in 1960, and 4 in 10 in 1970 (Map II), but this dispersal was in large part to areas adjacent to New York City, especially New Jersey.

The Puerto Ricans are central city folk. Some 8 in 10 live in the large central cities, one in 10 lives in the surrounding suburbs, and one in 10 lives in the non-metropolitan areas. This is in great contrast to the total U.S. population of which only about 3 in 10 live in central cities (Chart 2).

Outside of New York State the Puerto Rican population is somewhat more dispersed into the suburbs and the non-metropolitan areas than is the case in New York. Neverthless, this dispersal is significantly less than for the general population of the United States.

C. Place of birth, age, and sex

Place of birth. About 4 in 10 persons had been born on the Mainland, according to the 1970 Census. In 1950 only 3 in 10 had been born here. The remaining population, well over half at both dates, had migrated from the Island (Chart 3).

Our guess is that by 1990 the majority will have been born on the Mainland, and may constitute some 6 in 10 of the total Puerto Rican population.

Of those born on the Mainland (as of 1970), practically all were the children of migrants. As nearly as we can estimate there are very few persons who were born here of Mainland born persons. In another couple of decades, of course, this third generation will number far more persons.

MAP II

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF PUERTO RICAN BIRTH OR PARENTAGE 1960-1970

Blank - less than 100% change*

Hatched - 100 - 120% change

Cross hatched - more than 120%

*Actually the average for this group was below 50%

Chart 2. Percentage of Puerto Rican and of Total U.S. Population Living in Central Cities: 1970

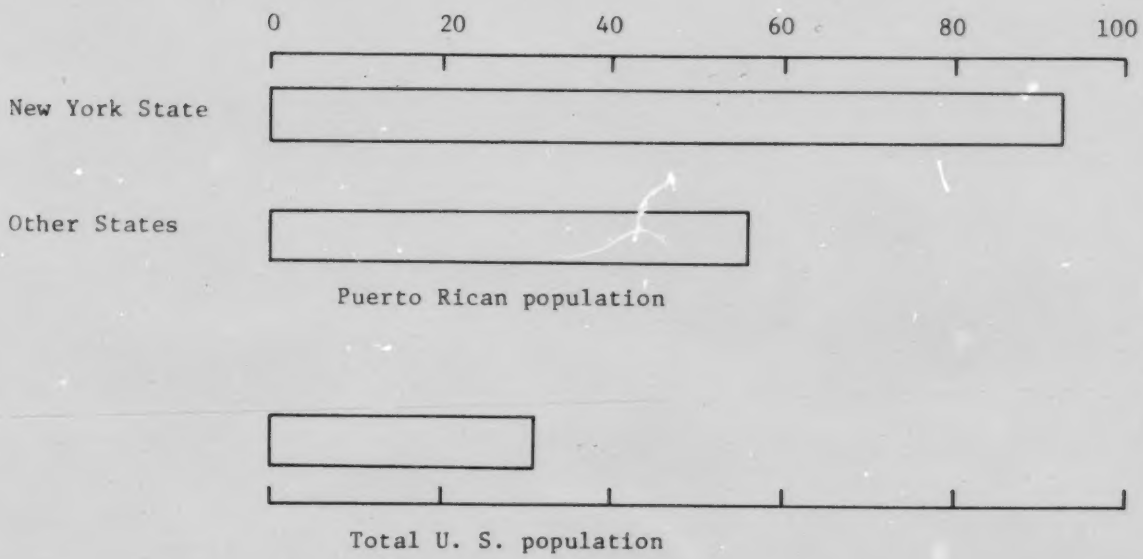
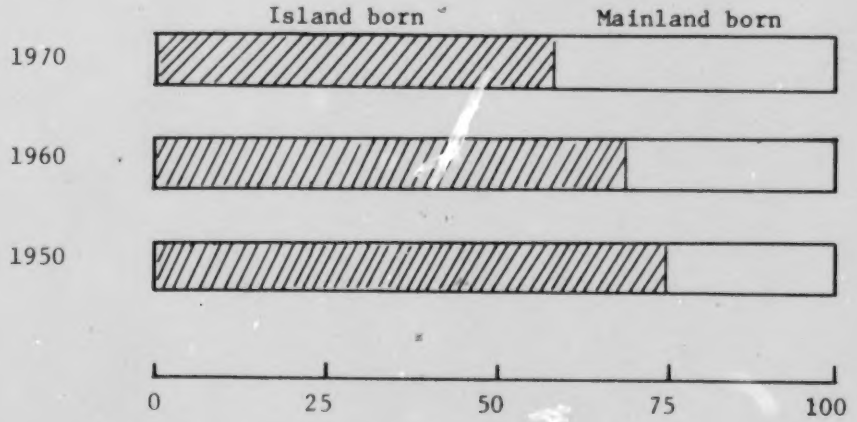


Chart 3. Composition of Puerto Rican Birth or Parentage Population by Place of Birth



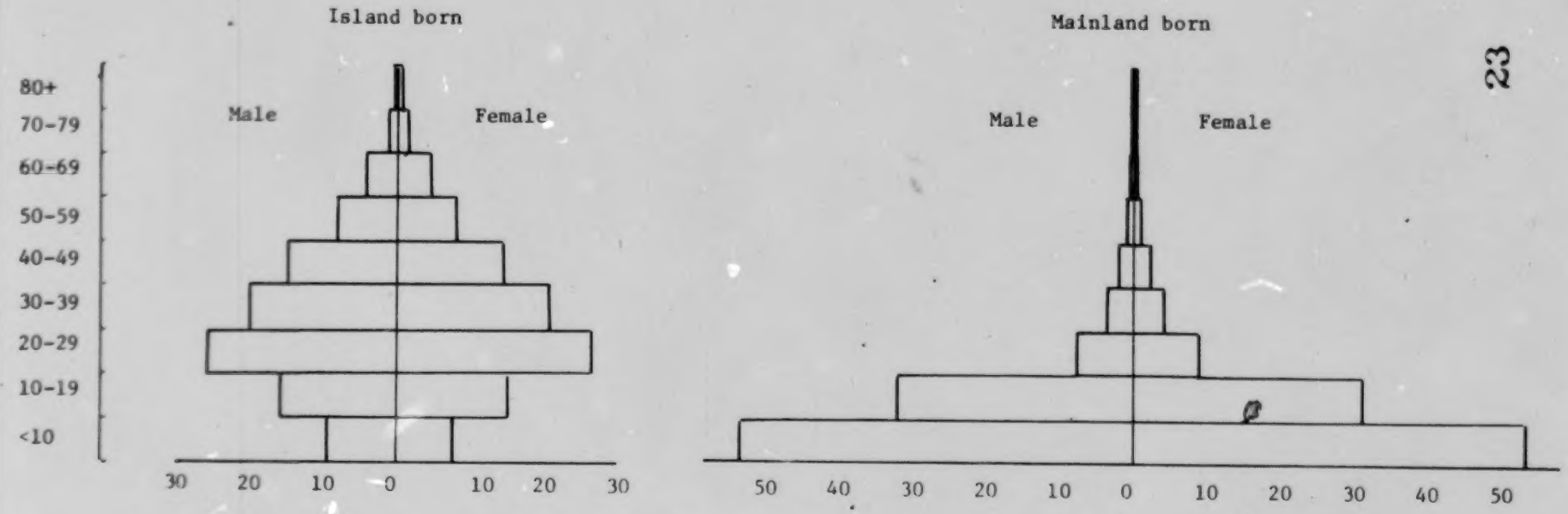
There is practically no difference between New York State and the remainder of the Mainland with regard to the proportion of the population who are Mainland born. This follows in large measure from the simple fact that so very many of the Mainland born are young children, and as a matter of course accompany their parents to whatever State the parents choose as residence.

Age. The Puerto Rican population averaged about 20 years of age (median age) in 1970 as compared with about 28 years for the general population. This average of 20 years fails to tell the entire story, however. Those born on the Island averaged about 30 years whereas those who had been born on the Mainland averaged only a little over 9 years (Chart 4). The latter, clearly, are as yet predominantly little children. In another couple of decades, however, the average age of these Mainland born will approach that of the general population.

There are significant differences between those residing in New York versus the rest of the country. The New Yorkers who had been born on the Island averaged close to 32 years whereas those living in other States averaged a little over 27 years of age. Very likely the New York residents represent the earlier streams of migration from the Island. Those who reside in other States, on the other hand, possibly result from more recent streams of migration together with migration out of New York of some of the younger Island born.

Of those born on the Mainland the average age (median) of the New York residents was between 9 and 10 years, whereas those living in other States averaged under 9 years. This probably reflects the more recent settlement in these States, as we saw previously.

Chart 4. Age-Sex Composition of the Puerto Rican Population by Place of Birth: 1970



The preponderance of youngsters, especially among the Mainland born, makes itself evident in the school situation. Of all the Mainland born in 1970 over half were of school-going age, namely age 5 to 19. Among the Island born, however, only one in 5 was of school age. With such large proportions of school ages, especially among the Mainland born, the school situation is affected insofar as the Puerto Ricans are "over represented." On the other hand, the schools have the opportunity to educate these children for life on the Mainland. Whether this is good or bad is not for us to say; it is simply a fact of life.

New York State--which means New York City--may feel the impact of this age factor more than do other States. Close to 6 in 10 of all Mainland born in New York were of school age in 1970. The total Puerto Rican population constituted about one-tenth of New York City's total population, but the Puerto Ricans of school age constituted about one in 6 of all school-age youngsters in the City. Clearly, the age composition has implications for the operations of the school system.

Sex composition. Among the total Puerto Rican population there were 97 males for every 100 females in 1970. This figure is slightly higher than for the general U.S. population among whom there were only 95 males per 100 females.

Since there are about equal numbers of males and females under the age of about 20, let us turn our attention to the population aged 20 and over. Among the Puerto Ricans (in 1970) there were about 90 men per 100 women. Among the general U.S. population there were also about 90 men per 100 women. The Puerto Ricans are no different. However, in New York State there were only 83 Puerto Rican men per

100 women whereas in the other States men were in the majority, 107 men for every 100 women. This clearly implies an out-movement of men from New York prior to 1970.

The shortage of men in New York has implications for a wide variety of social and economic conditions. Fewer men means fewer families containing both husband and wife, for example. This, in turn, can contribute to the increase of families headed by women, and to more families on welfare, especially those receiving aid to dependent children. What additional implications there may be for children raised in fatherless homes we leave to others to describe.

Fewer men also means that more Puerto Rican women remain unmarried and childless, or that they marry non-Puerto Ricans. As we shall see, both resultants seem to have occurred in New York.

The excess of adult men in other States implies a set of social and economic conditions for the Puerto Rican population quite different from that in New York. As we shall see, for example, New York families averaged lower income than Puerto Rican families living elsewhere, and more of the former had incomes below the poverty level in 1970.

Why there is a deficit of men in New York and an excess in other States will be discussed subsequently.

D. Vital statistics

Rates of natural increase. As nearly as can be estimated the Puerto Rican population had a birth rate of around 30 births per 1000 population in 1970, as compared with about 18 per 1000 in the general U.S. population. The death rate seems to have been between 7 and 10 per

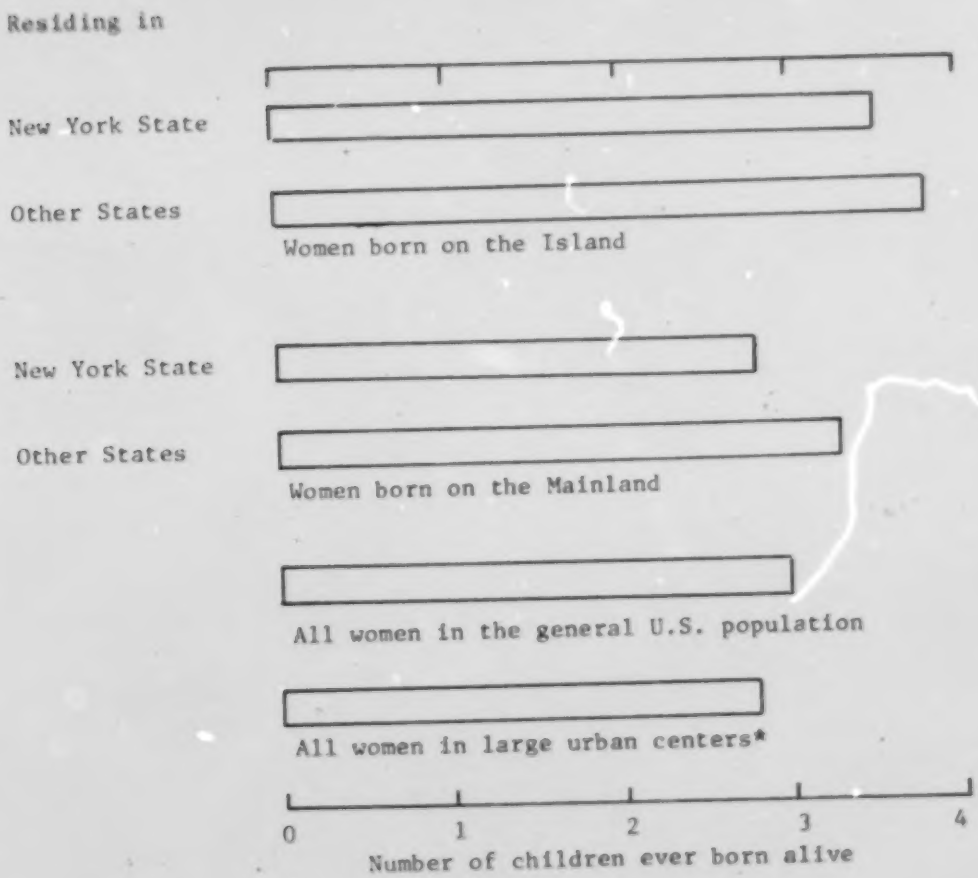
1000 population (exact figures are not available) as compared with 9 per 1000 in the U.S. population. Hence, the Puerto Rican population was increasing due to an excess of births over deaths, of between 20 and 23 per 1000 per year. The general U.S. population, on the other hand, was increasing at a rate of only about 9 per 1000, or less than half of the Puerto Rican rate.

The above figures, however, tell but a fragment of the true story. As we shall see following, where the Puerto Rican women were born--the Island or the Mainland--and where on the Mainland they live, are important factors which make considerable differences among the several sub-populations.

The birth rate. The best measure which we have is the average number of children ever born alive per woman. Since women aged 35 to 44 have pretty much completed their child bearing let us examine this age group. All Puerto Rican women had averaged just 3 1/2 children. Those in New York State had somewhat fewer children, and those in other States, somewhat more than 3 1/2 children. Most importantly, those women who had been born on the Mainland averaged about 3 children. This is the same number as that for the general U.S. population of women aged 35 to 44 (Chart 5).

It is clear that Puerto Rican fertility is approaching that of the general population. In another couple of decades when the large majority is likely to be Mainland rather than Island born, we can expect Puerto Rican fertility to equal, more or less, that of the general U.S. population.

Chart 5. Average Number of Children Ever Born Alive Per Woman aged 35 to 44, for the Puerto Rican Population and the General U.S. Population: 1970



*Urbanized areas containing 250,000 persons or more

The death rate. The only available data are for the Island born persons who resided and died in New York City. For these people we calculated life tables beginning with age 15 and compared life expectancy with that found in the total U.S. populations of whites/and others (including Spanish Americans). In general, the Puerto Ricans have life expectancy only a little less than that of the total U.S. white population, and significantly above that of the non-white population. For example, at age 15 a Puerto Rican male can expect to live another 52.3 years, a white man 54.9 additional years, and a nonwhite man 49.2 years.

A 15-year-old Puerto Rican female can look forward to 60.6 more years, a white woman 62.2 years, and a nonwhite woman to 57.0 additional years.

No hard data are available on life expectancy for the Puerto Rican population which was born on the Mainland. Nevertheless we have reason to believe that it is at least as favorable,if not more so, than that for the Island born.

We have no information for the population residing outside of New York City.

Health. We have no solid information on the state of health of the Puerto Rican population. Following our preceding remarks on life expectancy we should expect that the types and prevalences of illnesses may also resemble those in the general population at each socioeconomic level. However, insofar as there may be certain disorders which are more prevalent among peoples from tropical climates, the Puerto Rican population, or at least some segments of it, may be so affected. However, we cannot present a complete medical account.

The little information we do have was obtained by means of interviews with medical personnel at Governeur Hospital, the Urban Medical Center, the San Juan Medical Group, and the Bruckner Boulevard Health Center. These organizations are located in the Bronx and Manhattan and service the poorer and the Island born; by their own admission some of the medical personnel had little if any experience with middle class elements. The general impression received from these interviews is that the Puerto Rican health and medical problems are little different--except possibly for tropical ailments--from other poor and but little educated persons. (The complete interviews are presented in Appendix A).

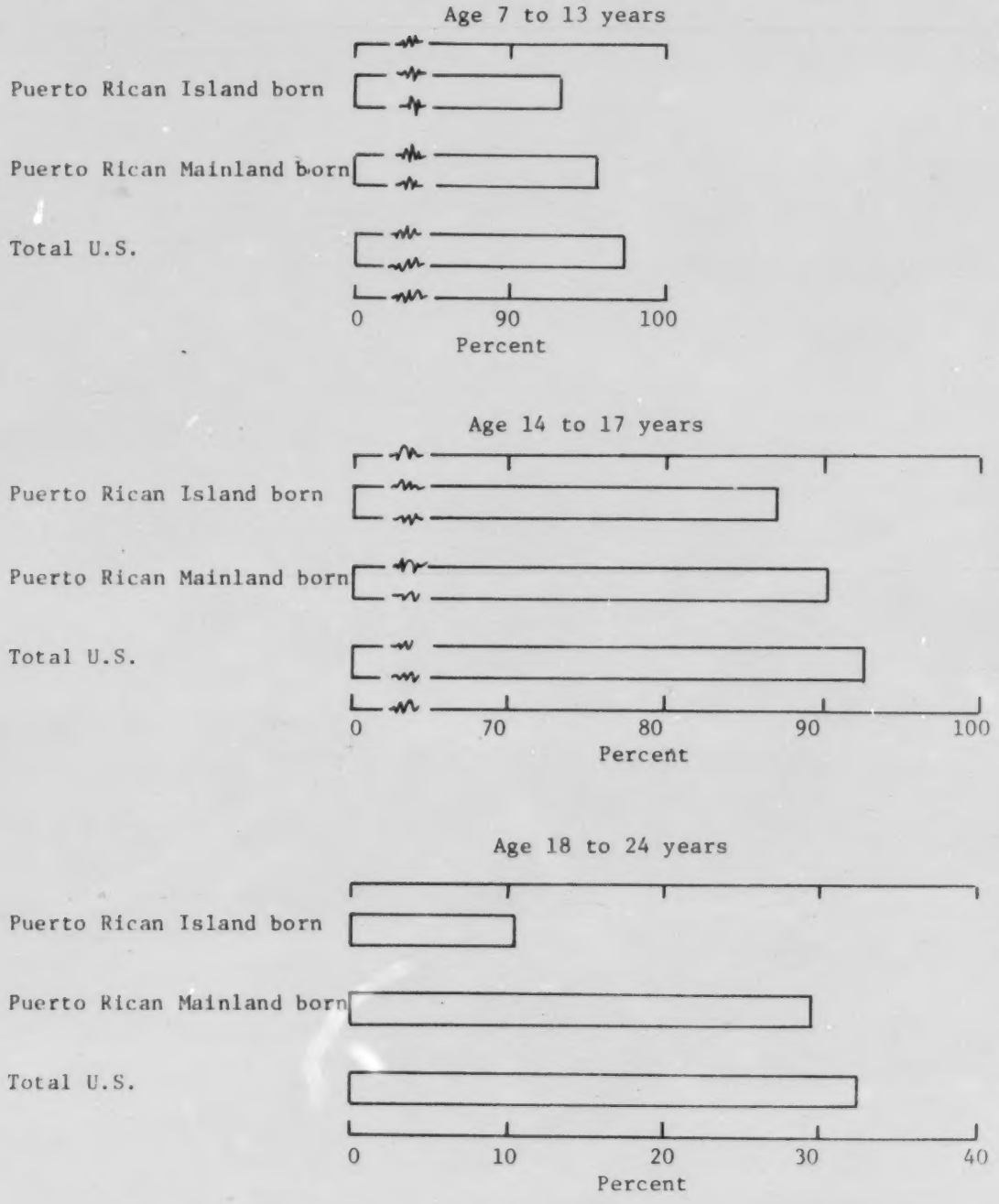
E. Education

School attendance. Overall a somewhat smaller proportion of Puerto Rican children and youth were enrolled in school in 1970 than was the case for the general U.S. population. At age 7 to 13 almost all children attend school, at age 14 to 17 the large majority do so, and at age 18 to 24 comparatively few (Chart 6).

What is most significant, however, is the fact that those Puerto Rican youngsters who were born on the Mainland have school attendance rates which very nearly approach those of the total U.S. population. The children who do not attend school are, in large measure, those who were born on the Island.

In addition the school attendance rates among Puerto Ricans living outside New York are somewhat higher than for New York residents. Why this is so we do not know. We only know that for Mainland born children living outside New York the school attendance rates are but very slightly below those for the total U.S. population.

Chart 6. Percentages Attending School, by Age: 1970



Since 1960 the attendance rates for all age, place of birth, and residence groups have increased somewhat. The increases were most pronounced for those aged 14 to 17, which includes the high-school-age children and those aged 18 to 24, the college-going ages.

Years of school completed. When viewed as a totality the Puerto Rican population is not well schooled. The average person aged 25 and over has completed only elementary school, and less than one in 4 has completed high school. Among the general U.S. population, on the other hand, slightly over half had completed high school in 1970. But these figures give the wrong impression. Those born on the Mainland approach the general U.S. population; just under half have completed high school. The Island born are the ones having comparatively little schooling. In the future we expect the Mainland born to far outnumber the Island born, in which case the Puerto Rican population as a totality will have had much more schooling than was the situation in 1970.

A closer look at the future can be obtained by study of the Mainland-born persons aged 20 to 24 in 1970, since this is the indicator group for educational purposes. Of these people a little over 6 in 10 had completed high school; this compares with a little under 8 in 10 for the general U.S. population. For comparative purposes we note that among the Island born less than 4 in 10 were high school graduates. Clearly the Puerto Ricans are improving their educational position, but equally clearly they still lag behind the general U.S. population.

Further inspection of the situation of the Mainland born aged 20 to 24 reveals that the situation outside New York is much better

than in this State. Close to 7 in 10 of those who live in other States have completed high school. This figure approaches that of the general U.S. population. Again we face the question: why does New York State lag behind the other States?

The failure to complete high school, especially in New York, is a direct reflection of the large high school dropout rate which occurred during the 1960s. In New York about 3 1/2 in 10 of all Mainland born youth who had entered high school in this period dropped out. The drop-out rates for boys was significantly higher than for girls throughout the U.S. Why such high drop-out rates, especially among boys, is a question which we cannot answer.

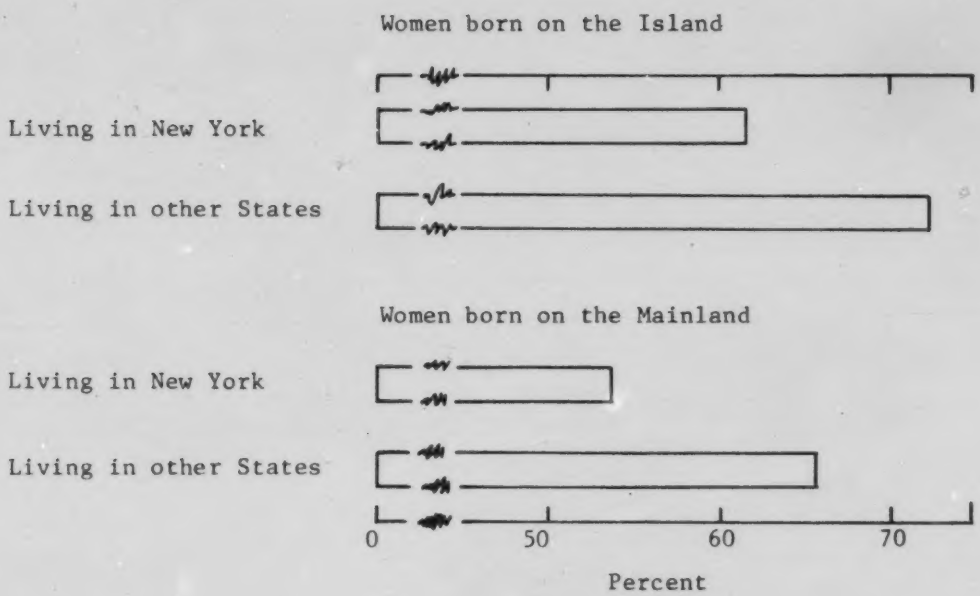
With regard to college entry, the picture is much the same. Among the Mainland born Puerto Ricans aged 20 to 24 in 1970, about 3 in 10 of those who had completed high school had gone on to college. In the general U.S. population around 5 in 10 had entered college.

In summary, we see a situation in which considerable improvement has occurred over the last years, but the Puerto Rican population still lags behind the general U.S. population.

F. Family and marital status

Many more women aged 20 to 44 who live outside of New York are married and living with their spouses as compared with New York residents. And significantly more Island-born women are married with spouse present than Mainland-born women (Chart 7). Some 2 in 3 of those born on the Island are thus married, as compared with less than 3 in 5 of those born here. The above pattern was true in 1960 also, but at that date a significantly larger proportion of all women (aged 20 to 44) were married and living with their spouses.

Chart 7. Percentage of Women Aged 20 to 44
Who Are Married and Living with Spouses: 1970



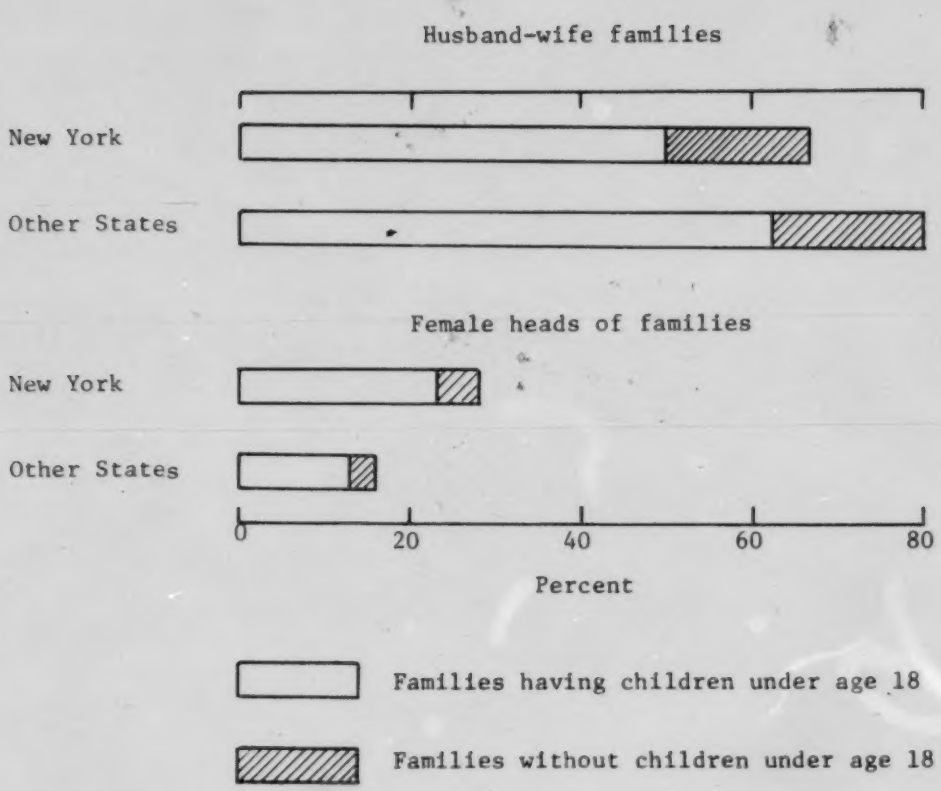
This pattern, and the decreases since 1960, reflect in part at least, the ratio of men to women which we mentioned previously. For persons in this age range there were 84 men for every 100 women in New York State, as contrasted with 109 men per 100 women in the other States (in 1970). As a rule, the larger the number of men, the larger is the proportion of women who are married. In 1960 there had been almost equal numbers of men and women in New York State and a very large excess of men in the other States. As a result, the proportion of women who were married and living with their husbands in 1960 was significantly higher than in 1970.

The comparatively small proportion of women who were married with spouse present, especially in New York, in turn, has implications for family life. The number of families with women heads, the numbers on welfare, etc. especially for a non well-schooled population, tends to increase in the absence of a male earner in the family. Among the Puerto Rican population the non-married spouse-present woman is not likely to be a well paid professional career woman; she is more likely to be a widow, divorcee, or one whose husband is elsewhere--in another State or perhaps living on the Island. In any event the family which she heads suffers both economically and socially from the absence of a marriage partner.

As we expect, a smaller proportion of the families in New York consist of husband and wife (with or without children under age 18) than is the situation in other States (Chart 8). Conversely, the proportion of families headed by women is significantly higher in New York.

A little over half of all Puerto Rican families consist of husband and wife and children under age 18; another 2 in 10 consist of

Chart 8. Types of Puerto Rican Families: 1970



husband and wife without young children; and one in 4 has a female head, most of whom have young children. In 1960 a larger proportion of the families consisted of husband-wife and children, and a smaller proportion were headed by women. These changes fit the changes in marital status as previously described.

F. Marriage with non-Puerto Ricans

How long into the future the Puerto Rican population can maintain its identity is a relevant question to ask. As of 1970 we know that over 2 in 3 of those born on the Mainland (married persons aged 20 to 44) and who were living outside of New York, were married to non-Puerto Ricans. In New York one in 3 was married to a non-Puerto Rican.

Far fewer of the Island-born people had married out, one in 10 of those living in New York and about 2 in 10 of those residing elsewhere. This is to be expected since many of them were married when they migrated and hence, almost by definition, had Puerto Rican spouses.

Presumably the out-marriage rate is lower in New York City because the number of Puerto Ricans is so large that individuals generally can find partners within the community. In other States having far fewer Puerto Ricans, the situation facilitates out-marriages. Presumably in the future married couples will continue to migrate from the Island, but if so many of their children will marry non-Puerto Ricans then we must ask what this will do to their Puerto Rican identity. The identification problem will be even more difficult for the children of mixed Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican parents. But exactly what will happen we cannot predict.

Economic Conditions

A. Employment and unemployment

The civilian labor force is defined by the U.S. Census Bureau as the sum of the employed plus the unemployed.

Men. Most men aged 14 and over are in the labor force. Nevertheless, there are small differences as follows:

a. Somewhat fewer Puerto Rican men are in the labor force than we find in the general U.S. population--about 2 in 3 of the former as compared with 7 in 10 of the latter, in 1970.

b. Slightly fewer of the Mainland born are in the labor force as compared with the Island born men, 65 percent vs. 68 percent.

c. In New York slightly fewer Puerto Rican men are in the labor force than we find in other States.

Overall, however, the differences among the several Puerto Rican groups and the U.S. general population are quite small and probably have little impact upon social conditions.

The unemployment rate for Puerto Rican men is significantly higher than for men in the general U.S. population, something on the order of half again higher. The differences among the several Puerto Rican groups, again, are very minimal.

The proportions of men who are employed follow the above patterns. In general the differences between the Island and Mainland born, and between those living in New York versus elsewhere, are minimal. It would appear that employment opportunities <u>per se</u>, at least in 1970, by themselves cannot account for the larger proportion of men outside New York, as we noted previously.

Perhaps during the 1960s there had been better employment opportunities for men outside New York, which attracted Puerto Rican workers. We have no way of knowing. We only know that in 1960 the patterns of employment and unemployment were not substantially different from 1970.

Women. In general there are larger differences among the four groups of Puerto Rican women than there are for men. With regard to labor force participation we note:

a. The proportion of Mainland born women in the labor force about equals that of the general U.S. female population, close to 4 in 10.

b. Among the Island born women, however, slightly under 3 in 10 are in the labor force.

c. Somewhat more women who live outside of New York are in the labor force. This applies to both the Island and Mainland born.

It would appear that the significant differences between the two generations are related to two factors previously observed:

a. The mainland born are more educated, and more educated women are more likely to be in the labor force.

b. The Mainland born have lower fertility, and lower fertility generally is associated with higher labor force participation.

The rates of unemployment are higher for Puerto Rican women than for all women in the U.S. Nevertheless, the differences between the two generations persist.

a. Island born women have somewhat higher unemployment rates.

b. Women outside of New York have somewhat higher unemployment rates.

Since actual employment is the payoff let us turn our attention to the proportions of women employed in 1970.

a. The proportion of employed Mainland born women was only slightly less than for all women in the U.S. (Chart 9).

b. Far fewer Island born women were employed.

c. More women outside New York were employed.

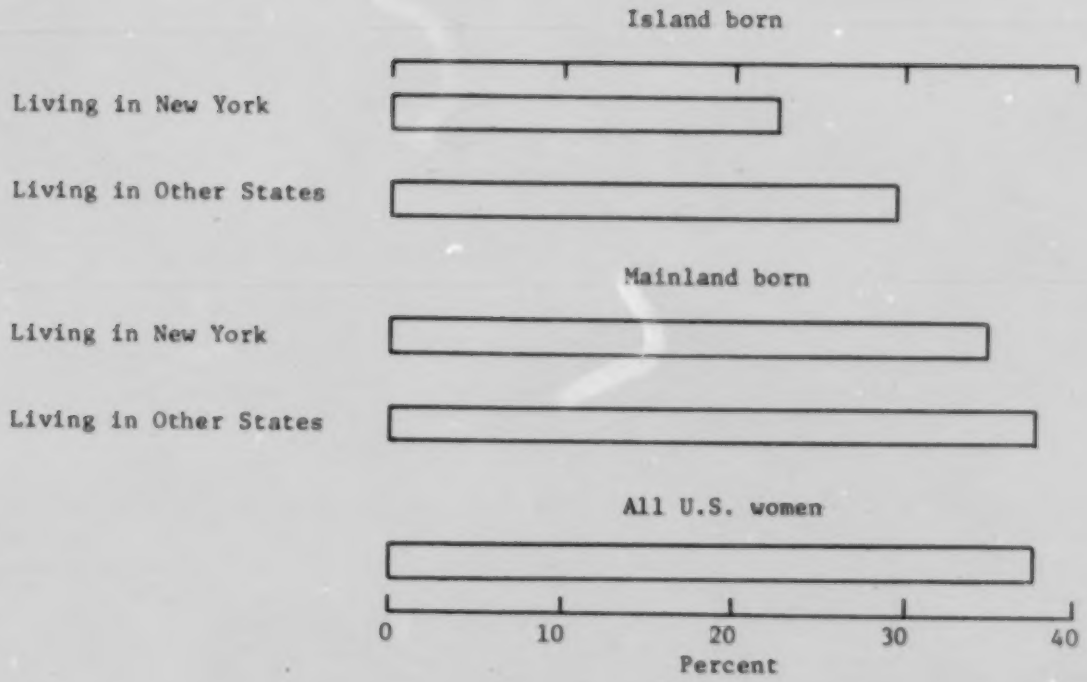
The preceding analysis raises an interesting question: Since employment opportunities seem to have been better outside of New York, and since, as we saw previously, there is a significantly higher proportion of men outside this State, why do Puerto Rican women remain in New York? We have no answer.

B. Weeks worked in 1969

In general, 7 in 10 employed Puerto Rican men aged 25 to 64 had worked a full year, i.e., 50 or more weeks. Among all men in the U.S. just under 8 in 10 had worked 50 or more weeks. However, Mainland born men living outside of New York did better than other Puerto Rican men and almost approached that of all men. Perhaps the prospects of more steady employment attracted some men to other States.

Among employed women aged 25 to 64 about half had worked the full year of 1969. There are no differences between Island and Mainland born women. This--one half--is the same as for all women in the U.S. Women in New York did somewhat better than did Puerto Rican women in other States, however. Perhaps the possibility of more steady employment helped to keep some women in New York.

Chart 9. Percentage* of Women Employed: 1970



*Standardized on the basis of the age distribution of all women in the U.S.

C. Occupational composition

The Puerto Ricans, by and large, tend to hold the less desirable jobs, as of 1970. Men tend to be operatives, laborers, or service workers, plus some craftsmen. Women tend to be operatives and service workers, plus some clerical workers.

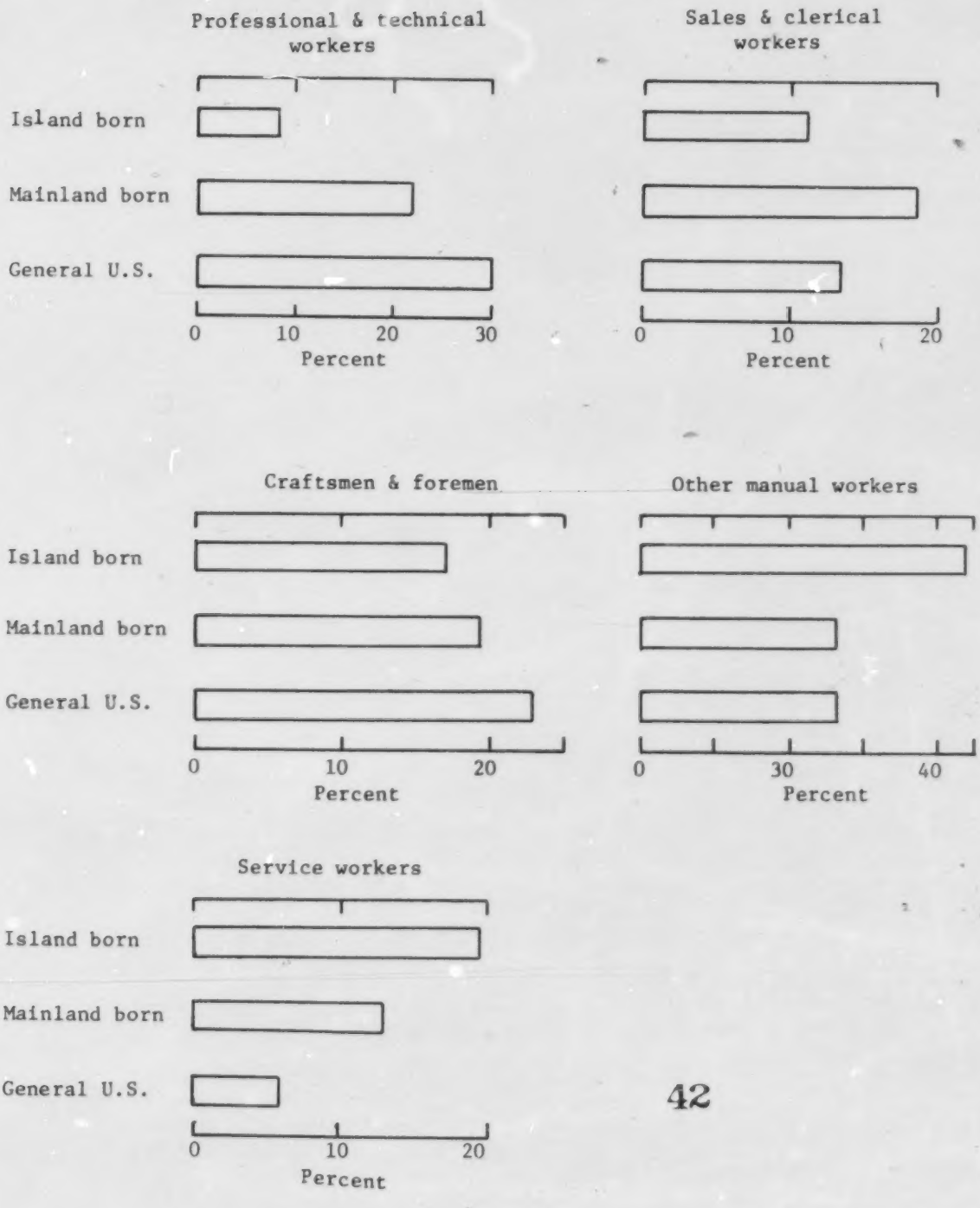
However, in evaluating jobs we must take age and place of birth into account. Age is important since young persons start their work careers with less desirable jobs and gradually work up to some higher level.[4/] For example, a youngster may begin as a laborer or operative in a factory, and work his way up to craftsman or foreman. Accordingly, we shall examine the occupational structure of men aged 35 to 44, and of women aged 25 to 34. By these ages people have achieved close to their best occupational position.

As for place of birth, the better jobs require more schooling and a good command of English. By and large, the Mainland born have these two requirements whereas too many of the Island born do not have them. Therefore, study of these two groups, classified by age, reveals the occupational composition which the future Puerto Rican population is likely to achieve--that population which will be largely Mainland born and better educated.

Men. Far more of the Mainland born are in better jobs as compared with the Island born. Four in 10 of the former were in white collar jobs in 1970, as compared with 2 in 10 of the Island born men. Close to 2 in 10 of each group were craftsmen or foremen.

4/ See A. J. Jaffe, The Middle Years, Special Issue of Industrial Gerontology, September 1971.

Chart 10. Occupational Composition of
Men Age 35 to 44 Years: 1970



In sum, 6 in 10 of the Mainland born were in better jobs as compared with 4 in 10 of the Island born. Hence, it is seen, the majority of the Island born--6 in 10--were found in the less desirable manual and service jobs (Chart 10).

Indeed, the Mainland born compare rather favorably with the general U.S. male population aged 35 to 44. The former still lag behind the general population, but as we saw previously, the Mainland born Puerto Ricans still do not have quite as much schooling as does the general U.S. male population. Now the connection between years of schooling and ability to perform work is tenuous for many occupations, but close for the professions. Nevertheless, there still is a connection between years of schooling and being hired for a job. More Puerto Ricans will need more education if more of them expect to aspire to top level jobs.

There is little difference in the occupational composition of men aged 35 to 44 between those who live in New York vs. other States. There are slightly more service workers in New York, and slightly fewer operatives and laborers, but that is all.

Upward movement occurred between 1960 and 1970, both for Mainland and Island born men. For example, in 1960 3 in 10 of the latter had better jobs, i.e., white collar or craftsman; in 1970 just under 4 in 10 held such better jobs. Among the Mainland born, half had held the better jobs in 1960 as compared with 6 in 10 in 1970.

Nevertheless, the gap between Puerto Rican and all U.S. men decreased but slowly between 1960 and 1970[5/]. All men advanced up the occupational ladder so that the Puerto Rican men must advance upward

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5/ As measured by the index of difference. For Island born men the indexes were 74 in 1960 and 67 in 1970. For Mainland born men they were 36 in 1960 and 30 in 1970. If all groups had the same occupational composition the index of difference would be zero.

even more rapidly in order to close the gap. They did forge ahead between 1960 and 1970 but not rapidly enough.

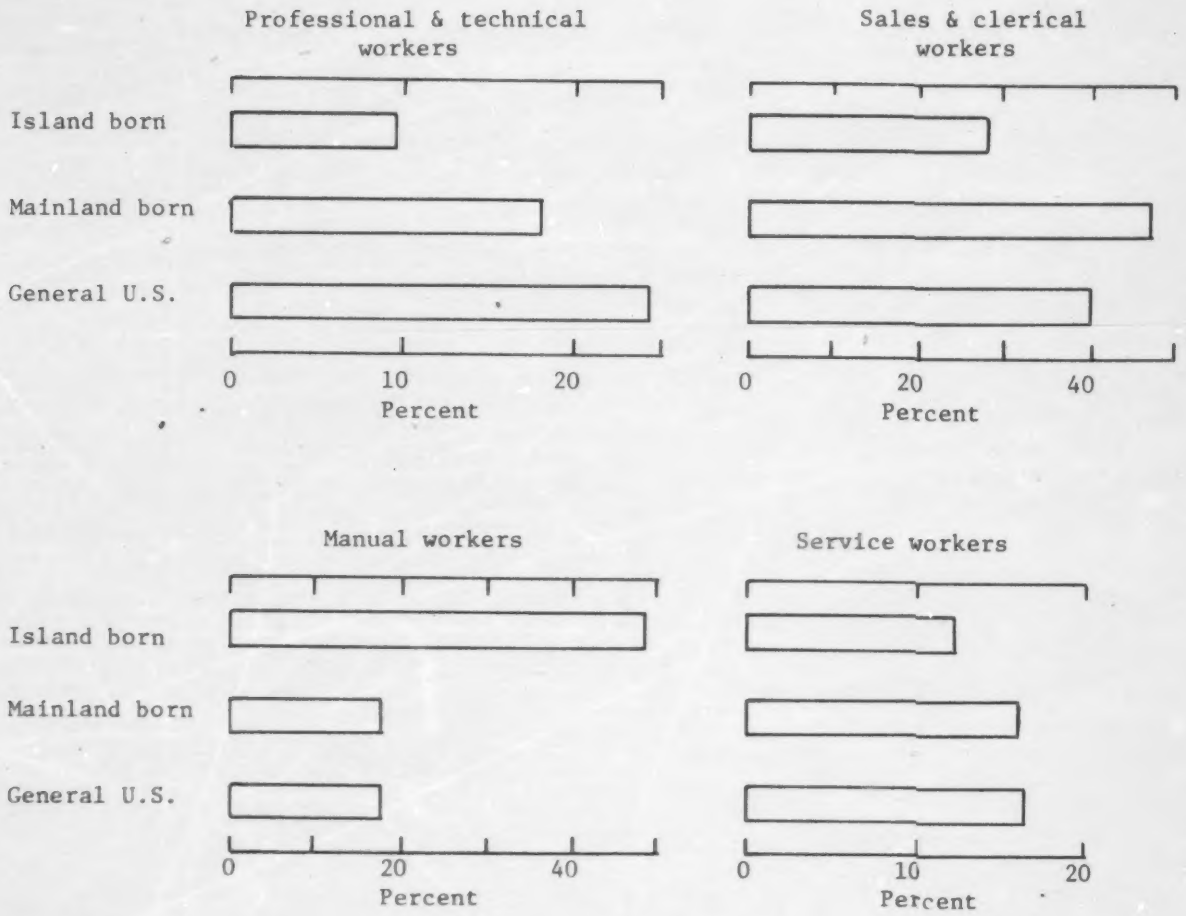
Women. As with men, far more of the employed Mainland born hold better jobs than do the Island born (Chart 11). Among the former women (aged 25 to 34 in 1970) about 2 in 3 held a white collar job as compared with one in 3 of the Island born. The numbers of craftsmen are negligible in both groups. Almost half of the Island born women are operatives, but only one in 6 of the Mainland born hold such jobs.

All in all, the Mainland born approach the occupational structure of all women in the U.S. Not as many of the former as of the latter are in the upper white collar jobs, professional and managerial; on the other hand the same small proportions are in manual (operatives and laborers) and service jobs. Again, it would seem that the more schooling of the Mainland born--an amount approaching, but not quite reaching that of the general U.S. population of women--is instrumental in so many more of them having better jobs.

The occupational composition of the New York resident women is very similar to that of residents of other States. New York may have slightly fewer professional workers and operatives, and but a few more clerical workers. These minor differences probably reflect differences in the demand for workers between New York and other States.

Considerable upward movement occurred between 1960 and 1970, especially for the Island born women. In 1960 just under 2 in 10 had held white collar jobs; in 1970 just under 4 in 10 had such jobs. Among the Mainland born there was some upward movement also, but it was much more moderate.

Chart 11. Occupational composition of Women Age 25 to 34 Years: 1970



Summary. We have emphasized the importance of place of birth and shown how the Mainland born in 1970 are approaching the general population with regard to occupational composition. In 1950 already this same process was underway as reported by Carl Raushenbush.[6/]. The problem facing the Puerto Ricans is that just as they are advancing up the occupational ladder, so is the general population. Hence, to catch up will require extra climbing; this in turn, implies putting much more emphasis on schooling. We cannot guarantee that increased schooling will solve all the problems, but it will certainly help in the solution.

D. Income

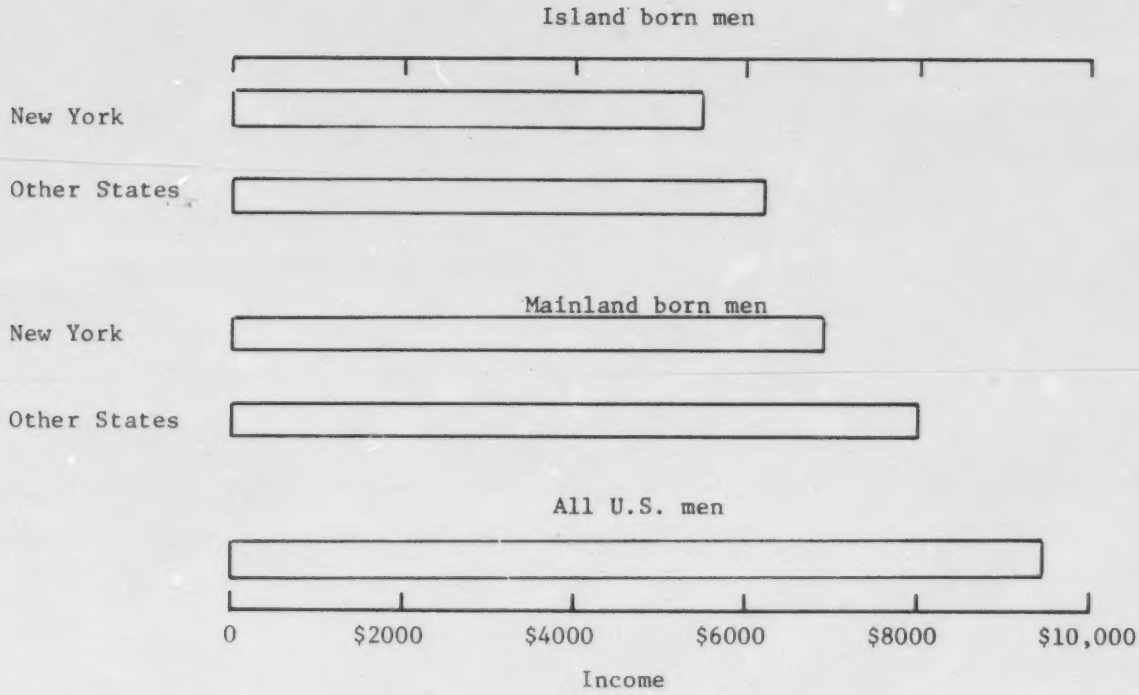
The amount of income which a person receives depends among other factors on occupation, education, age and sex, and where the person lives. Since the prime working years are between 25 and 64 we shall investigate the income of Puerto Ricans during this period.

Men. Mainland born Puerto Rican men reported much higher income in 1969 than did the Island born. And those Mainlanders who lived outside New York reported the highest of all, $8000 average as compared with $9400 for all men in the U.S. (Chart 12). The superior education and occupations of the Mainland born presumably explain their larger incomes.

Presumably the higher income for those living outside New York explains some of the attraction of men to states outside New York. An Island born man averaged close to $1000 more if he lived and worked in some other State, and a Mainland born one, some $1200 more.

[6/] See his Discussion in Puerto Rican Population of New York edited by A. J. Jaffe, 1954, pp. 56 ff.

Chart 12. Average Income* in 1969
For Men Aged 25 to 64



*Standardized on the basis of all persons with income in 1969, by age.

In comparison with all men in the U.S., the Puerto Ricans are poorer. This was the case in 1960 and 1970, and will undoubtedly continue to be the case for at least another decade or two into the future. Over time the income of Puerto Rican men increases more or less as incomes of all men do, since increases are tied in with jobs. For example, a Puerto Rican truck driver receives an increase in pay when all truck drivers do; such increases are independent of the ethnicity of the worker. Accordingly, in order to receive larger income increases than do all men, many more Puerto Rican men must climb up the occupational ladder at a faster rate than others. As we saw previously, the Puerto Rican men are but slowly closing the occupational gap between themselves and all men in the U.S.

Women. Mainland born women receive as much, or somewhat more, income on the average than do all women in the U.S. who received income in 1969. The former averaged about $4000 and all U.S. women about $3800. Island born women, however, averaged about $3300. There was very little difference in reported income for women living in New York and other States. In short, as regards average income, there is no reason for New York women to leave the State. Presumably the higher income of the Mainland born reflects their better education and occupations.

E. Family income

The average family whose head is a Puerto Rican had income during 1969 amounting to about two-thirds that of the average family in the U.S., about $8000 as compared with $11,000. But this figure for the Puerto Rican is misleading. The average family in New York

whose head was born on the Island reported $6300 income. The average family outside of New York and whose head was born on the Mainland reported having received $9600. The latter is still below the national average, but not very much so. Families headed by Island born, and living outside of New York, as well as New York families headed by Mainland born, averaged about $7600.

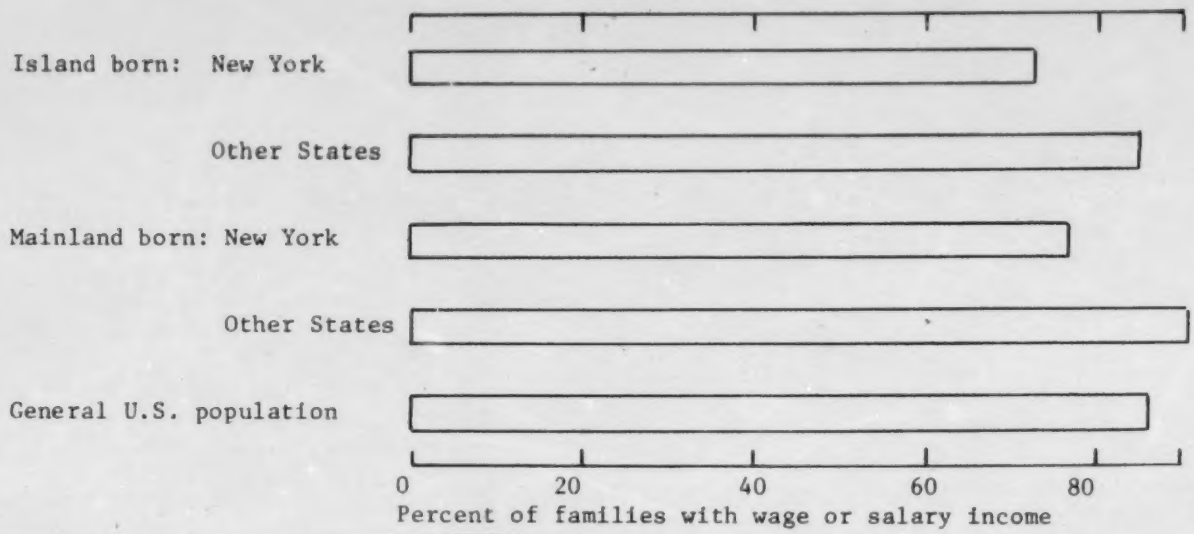
Clearly the several factors which we have reviewed previously--the distribution of men, the educational level, place of birth, place of residence, work opportunities for women, occupation, job earnings--have all come together in the overall figure of average family income. The Mainland born living outside of New York are better educated, have better jobs, and earn more. In turn, more men live outside the State and fewer families are headed by women. There are more husband and wife families and the combination produce a higher family income.

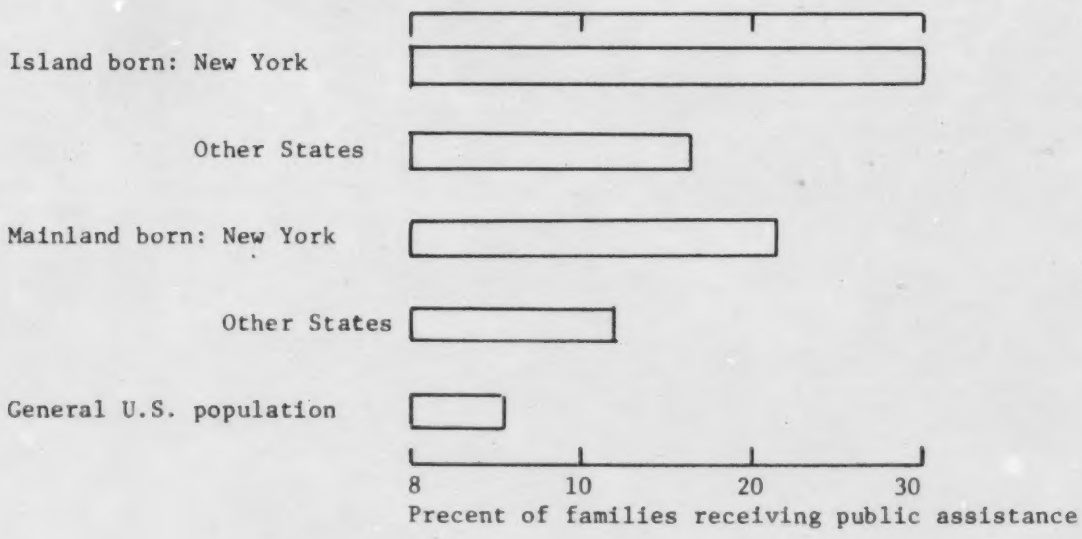
The major part of the family income comes from wages and salaries (Chart 13). Among families living outside New York and headed by Mainland born, 9 in 10 have such income, a proportion above that for the general U.S. population. The smallest proportions are found in New York State.

Conversely, the largest proportions of families receiving public assistance are found in New York State and whose heads were born on the Island (Chart 13).

Fewer than one in 10 families reported Social Security income. Most of these families contain at least one person old enough to have retired from work. Since the Puerto Rican population is younger than the general population, it has fewer retired persons, and hence fewer families receiving retirement pensions.

Chart 13. Proportions of Families Having Wage and Salary Income and Proportions Receiving Public Assistance: 1969





We do not wish to imply from the preceding analysis that all the Puerto Ricans living outside New York are financially well off. About one family in 7 receives welfare. We estimate also that about one person in 4 lives in a family whose income is below the poverty level 1/; this compares with one in 3 Puerto Rican persons who live in New York. Altogether, proportionately over twice as many Puerto Ricans are below the poverty level as among the general U.S. population. Clearly, those who live in other States are somewhat better off than are the New Yorkers, but they are not "rich."

Housing Conditions

The housing conditions of the Puerto Ricans reflect their economic conditions--the lower the family income the poorer is the quality of the housing. We have no information which could tell us, for example, whether non-Puerto Rican people having the same family income, have, or do not have, better housing than do the Puerto Ricans.

The large majority of the Puerto Rican families rent their living quarters, over 9 in 10 in New York, and a little over 7 in 10 in other States. A larger proportion of families headed by Mainland born persons are home owners; outside of New York 4 in 10 own their own homes. Average rent (median) paid by the Mainland born is about that paid by the Island born, and outside New York somewhat higher rents are paid—on the order of $90 a month as compared with $80 in New York. Note that the average (median) rent for all families, Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican, in New York City is $96.00.

1/ "Poverty status" is defined by the Census Bureau as follows: "Families and unrelated individuals are classified as being above or below the poverty level, using the poverty index adopted by a Federal Interagency Committee in 1969. This index provides a range of income cutoffs or "poverty thresholds" adjusted to take into account such factors

These patterns of home ownership and monthly rentals paid are to be expected in light of our previous analysis of family income. Families headed by Mainland born had higher income than Island born, and those outside New York had higher incomes than did New York families. The fact that the non-New Yorkers paid higher rents may have a double significance: 1) as mentioned they have higher income; and 2) in New York the Puerto Rican families pay below the average rent for the entire City; outside New York they pay above the average rent ($90 versus $80 for all Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican families living in Metropolitan areas in the North East). This latter observation means either that Puerto Rican families outside New York are relatively speaking well off, or that theyare forced to pay above average rents. We do not know what the actual situation may be.

On the all important question, the quality of the housing and neighborhood conditions, the available census data tell us little. On the surface things look reasonable. Practically every housing unit is reported as having a complete bathroom, as having piped water in the building, as having the dwelling unit connected to a public sewer. Some 2 in 3 families live in dwelling units built before 1939, a far higher proportion than is found among all families in the U.S. This alone, however, tells us nothing about quality. The White House was built 200 years ago and Forteleza some 400 years ago.

Three in 4 Puerto Rican families had one person or less per room; this does not sound like overcrowding. The average number of rooms per person was about 1.2 in New York and higher in other States.

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as family size, sex and age of the family head, the number of children, and farm-non-fram residence... The average poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of four was $3,743 in 1969." (Puerto Ricans in the United States,PC(2)-1E, p. App. 12

The families of Mainland born heads living outside New York approached two rooms per person, as did the national average for the total U.S. population.

New Yorkers tend not to own automobiles and the Puerto Ricans are no exception. Some 3 in 4 New York Puerto Rican families own no automobile; this compares with but one car-less family in 3 outside New York. The families headed by Mainland born and living in other States have the highest income and most of these families have autos.

The pattern of air conditioner ownership resembles that of automobiles, the higher the family income the more likely is the family to own an air conditioner. Among Puerto Rican families in New York hardly one in 10 has an air conditioner. In other States and in families headed by Mainland born--the "richest"--3 in 10 have air conditioners.

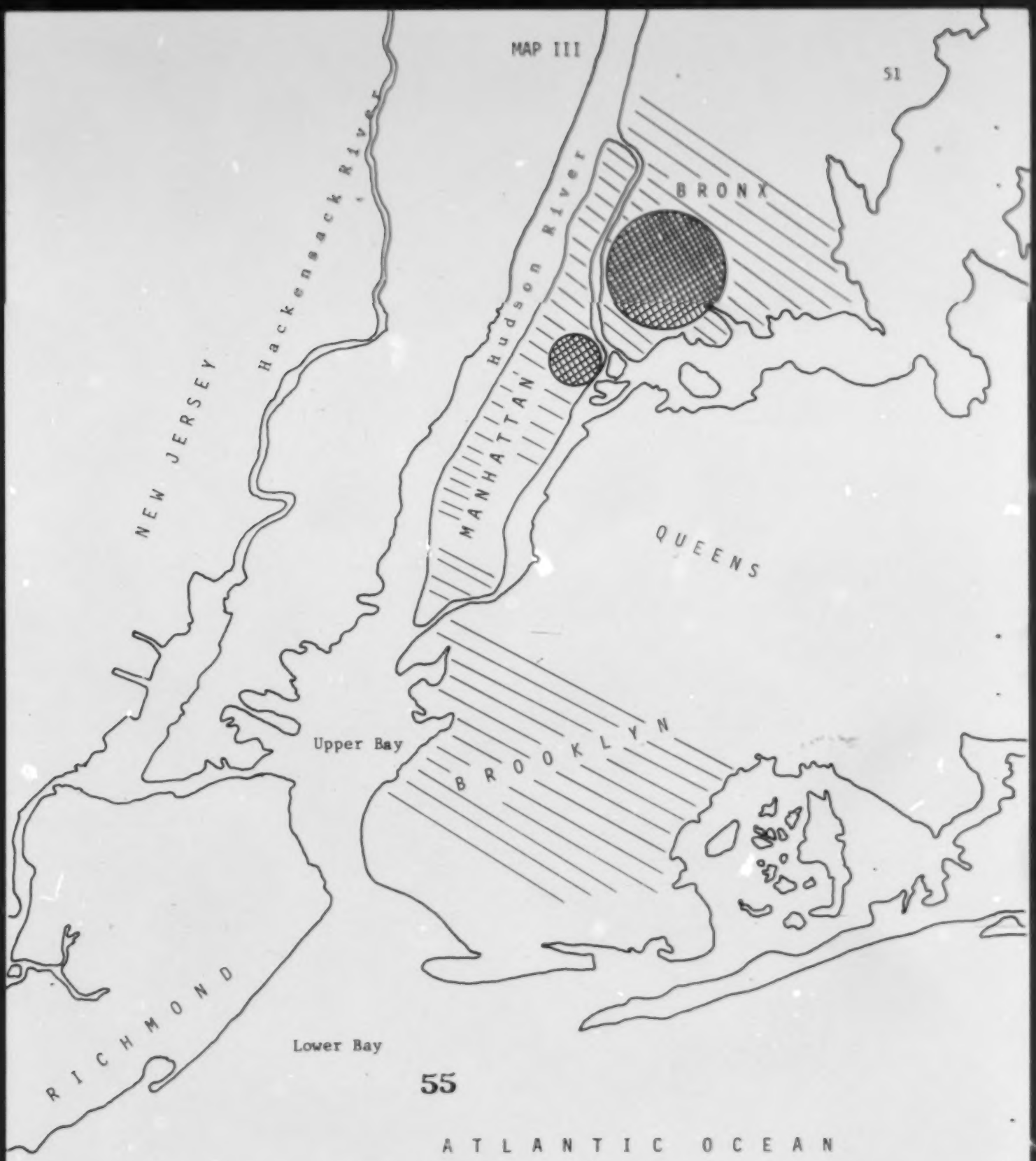
In summary then, as far as we can tell, housing conditions of Puerto Rican families are "deplorable" only insofar as housing for all the poorer families is "deplorable." The middle class Puerto Rican family probably has typical middle class housing--no better and no worse than that of non-Puerto Rican middle class families. And the rich Puerto Ricans--yes, there are some--have the best of housing.

The New York Area

The New York Metropolitan Area including adjacent portions of New Jersey and Connecticut, contains more Puerto Ricans than does the San Juan Metropolitan Area--about 965,000 vs. 851,000. And the City of New York contains double the number of persons who reside in the City of San Juan--818,000 vs. 453,000. Clearly most of the Puerto Ricans in the New York Metro Area live within the City itself.

The population is concentrated in three boroughs, Bronx, Manhattan, and Brooklyn (Map III). Only one in 20 lived in Queens or Richmond in 1970. The South Bronx and East Harlem are often thought of as the areas "where Puerto Ricans live." Actually these two areas together contain but 2 in 10 of all New York Puerto Ricans. Six in 10 are scattered elsewhere in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan. The South Bronx and East Harlem are the most densely Puerto Rican insofar as close to half of the people who live there are Puerto Rican. In other parts of the Bronx and Manhattan and Brooklyn the Puerto Ricans may constitute but one or 2 in 10 of the total population. Queens and Richmond, for all practical purposes are "suburbs," and contain but very small Puerto Rican populations.

This observed geographic distribution reflects what appears to be a fundamental socioeconomic pattern. In the three boroughs, Bronx, Manhattan and Brooklyn, fertility as measured by the number of children under 5 per 100 women aged 15-44, equals 51 children per 100 women. The rates for the South Bronx and East Harlem are about the same--51. In Queens and Richmond there are only 46 children; this is the identical fertility rate as for the entire Metropolitan Area. But the Puerto Ricans



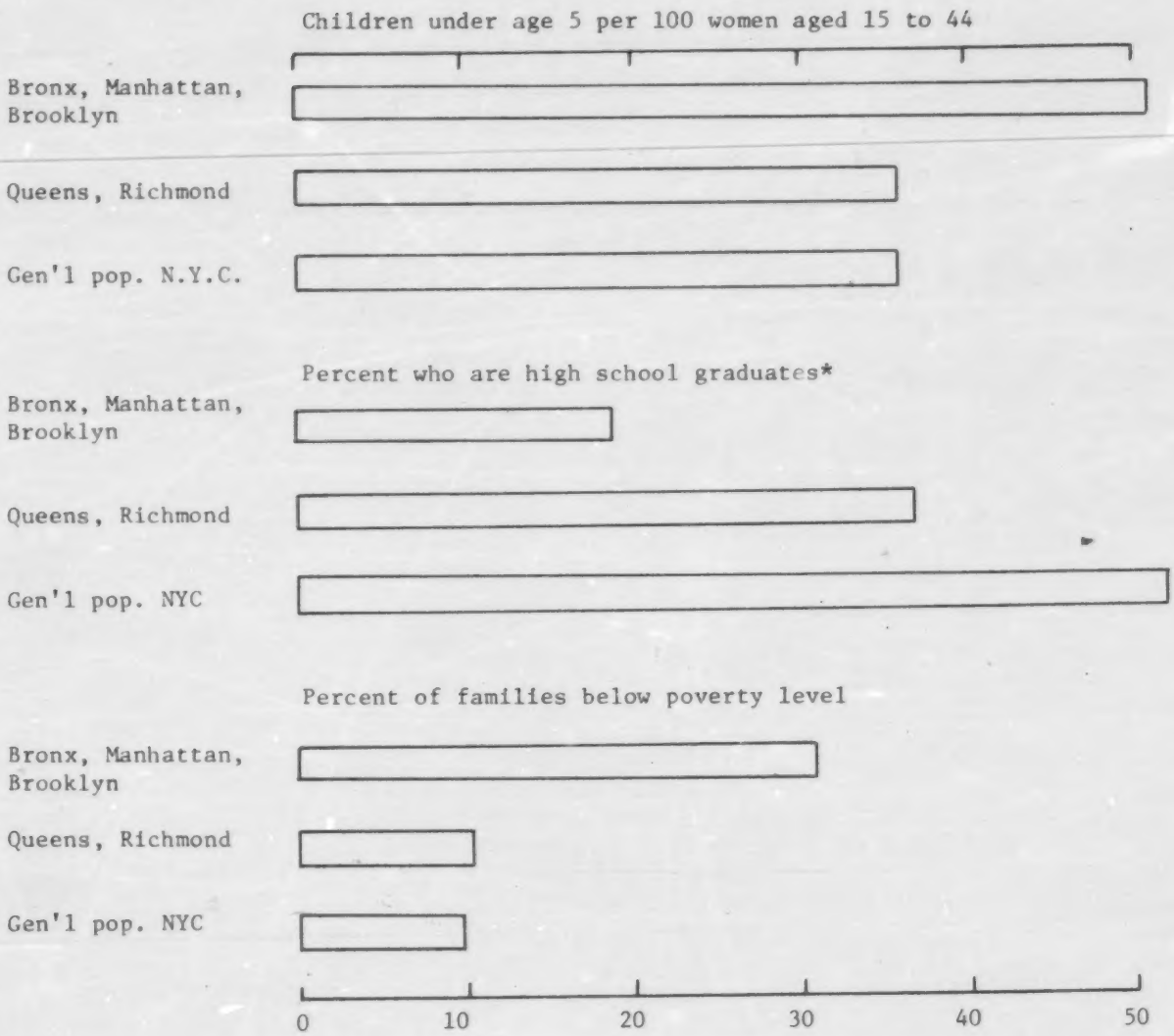
MAP III - DENSITY OF PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY

Cross-hatched encircled areas--more than 40% Puerto Rican
Hatched areas --about 10% Puerto Rican
Blank--less than 2% Puerto Rican

who live in Brooklyn and Queens are economically better off, and have had more years of schooling (Chart 14), than those who live in the other three boroughs. Clearly the time-honored relationship--more education and fewer children--still exists within New York City.

Unfortunately the majority of the Puerto Rican adults in New York City in 1970 were poor and insufficiently educated. As we saw, their children are obtaining more schooling and better jobs. It is on this basis that we anticipate that in another generation if not sooner, the New York Puerto Rican population as a whole will be more educated and have an improved economic position. Unless, again, there should be a vast migration of semi-educated from the Island.

Chart 14. Fertility, Education, and Poverty in New York City: 1970



*Population aged 25 and over

II. SOME BRIEF NOTES ABOUT FUTURE MIGRATION FROM THE ISLAND

A LOOK AT POSSIBLE FUTURE MIGRANTS FROM THE ISLAND

As we wrote previously, we expect migration from the Island to continue into future decades. We cannot predict for exactly how many decades such migration will continue, but will hazard a guess that it will continue into the 21st century. Unless there will be no jobs on the Mainland. Although we fully realize that employment opportunities are variable from year to year, we believe that over the course of a generation there will be enough job openings on the Mainland to attract substantial numbers of migrants.

A look at the Island reveals that the birth rate really began to decrease significantly only in the early 1960s. Population increase--the excess of births over deaths modified by migration--is averaging about 50,000 per year in the early 1970s. Only in the last decade has there been any substantial decrease--a decrease from 60,000 persons--in the annual amount of natural increase. Hence, it will require at least another decade, say to 1985, before the increases in the numbers of persons of working age begins to slow down enough for employment to begin to catch up. After that it will take at least a couple of decades for the slow down in population increase to have its full effect. Conceivably, in another 30 years increases in employment and population growth will become synchronized to the point where migration will diminish considerably.

With this in mind we may ask: what may be the characteristics of future migrants from the Island? We know that the migrants during the 1950s and 1960s came from a population in which the average number of years of schooling completed was about 8, or completion of elementary school. The Island population aged 20 to 24 in 1970 averaged close to

high school graduation. Hence, we can look forward to more schooled migrants in the future. This, in turn, can be expected to have all the derivative effects which we have shown to flow from increased schooling--better jobs, higher earnings, etc.

The future Puerto Rican migrant is also more likely than was the earlier migrant to have been an urban dweller. This, in turn, should facilitate adaptation to life in Mainland cities.

Finally, we note that the more schooled Island women have significantly lower fertility than do the less schooled ones. In 1970 among women aged 35 to 44 years, those who had only finished elementary school averaged about 3.8 children born. Those who had finished high school averaged 2.7 children. We can expect then, that future migrants will have lower fertility which,in turn,suggests an improved economic position and less welfare.

In summary, the migrant of the future will resemble the general U.S. population more closely than did the earlier migrants. This should facilitate better adjustment to the Mainland situation.

APPENDIX A

Interviews with Doctors at Health Centers Servicing Mostly Puerto Ricans

In accordance with your experience as a medical doctor practicing among Puerto Ricans in New York:

Question

What are the most common sicknesses among Puerto Ricans?

Answers

Dr. W.: Malnutrition, anemia, parasites, colds and upper respiratory illnesses among children, and infectious he titis, enteritis, emotional disorders and drugs among adults.

D. X.: Malnutrition, diahhea, parasites, asthma, colds and rheumatic fever among children and cardiovascular diseases, arthritis, infectious hepatitis, obesity, drugs, accidents and hypertension among adults.

Dr. Y.: Parasites and upper respiratory problems among children, and diabetes, high blood pressure and hypertension among adults.

Question

Do you believe these sicknesses are equally prevalent among non-Puerto Ricans in New York?

Answers

Dr. W.: No, the colds of the Northamerican child are only occasional rather than chronic and he almost never has anemia (which is really the same thing as malnutrition). The prob lem is that the Puerto Rican child often comes from places where parasites are endemic and he generally continues living here under the sanitary conditions that are similar to or worse than he had in Puerto Rico. For a long time therefore he experiences the illnesses of his place of origin. Besides, when he arrives here

his parents do not know how to shelter and dress him adequately; they are not familiar with the rigorous climate and its consequences. As a result their children are more frequently affected by respiratory sicknesses, chronic bronchitis and all its complications such as pneumonia.

As a pediatrician,I do not have much direct experience with adults. However, I believe they have a tendency either to obesity or underweight due to their customary diet which is very starchy, rich in fat, etc. but not very nutritious. You also find many cases of drug addiction, diabetes, cardiovascular disorders, arthritis, etc. It is difficult to say whether or not these diseases are equally prevalent among the non-Puerto Rican adult.

Dr. X.: Perhaps some of them. It is difficult to say, as medical problems hardly ever belong exclusively to a given ethnic group. In general, however, their sicknesses are especially characteristic of Puerto Ricans. Although I have not studied the statistics, I believe that their sicknesses here are also the common illnesses in Puerto Rico. Their use of drugs is a social deviation resulting from problems of adjustment and adaptation.

Dr. Y.: Yes, I believe that the Puerto Rican does not suffer from different sicknesses other than those associated with a lower economic, social and educational level. Their illnesses are the same as those of the Blacks and of other poor people with very little education and with no idea whatsoever of a balanced diet. An exception, of course, are the parasitical diseases common among Puerto Ricans and other people from tropical places.

Question

Have you observed any differences in the incidence of certain kinds of sicknesses among Puerto Ricans of the following categories:

a) born in Puerto Rico of Puerto Rican parents living here only a short time,
b) born in Puerto Rico of Puerto Rican parents living here for a long time,
c) born here of Puerto Rican parents living here for a long time,
d) born here of parents of Puerto Rican ancestry?

Answers

Dr. W.: Clearly, there are differences. The recently arrived child goes to one health center after another to receive medical assistance for their health problems. Northamerican doctors have no experience with parasitical diseases and the laboratories are not always able to analyze stool specimens correctly. The diagnosis is slow, the child suffers and the parents get confused, etc.

As time passes and the parents acquire more experience and understanding of the environment in which they live, the child gradually adjusts to the country, to his community, and to his school. His medical record becomes less erratic and as patient he becomes more similar to the child who is born here or to the one who has lived in New York much longer. Children born here are almost always in a much more advantageous situation than those in the first two categories because of the benefits of the pre-natal education which their mothers receive and because of the long experience of their parents as residents of this city, e.g., knowledge of the language, the public welfare agencies, and the rights to which they are entitled. These children do not need to pass through the painful periods of adjustment that the first two categories experience.

What in fact happens is that the Pueto Rican who has just arrived in New York, besides being poor, relatively uneducated and ignorant of the language, has no knowledge whatsoever of the complicated procedural pre-requisites for obtaining the aid which the city provides. He has no idea at all of how the medical clinics and the big health centers function and does not know how to go about getting adequate orientation. He is really a displaced person without any feeling of belonging or any instinct of how to protect himself. And so he drifts aimlessly a idst his many problems and is a timid and very tense patient, afraid even to ask questions. As he lives in fear of the unknown, he gets frightened whenever anyone raises his voice in speaking to him, to the point that he gives the impression of being more ignorant than he really is.

Dr. X.: The Puerto Ricans in the South Bronx form a very compact, homogeneous community apparently composed principally of the first three (or perhaps only the first two) of the four categories you mention. They try as much as possible

to live here the same way they used to live in Puerto Rico and they do not seem to change much over time because they are not effectively exposed to outside influences. They still eat "malanga, yautia, platanos" and even sugar-cane. There is not much difference between those born here and those born in Puerto Rico as far as can be judged from the small numbers in the last two categories.

Dr. Y.: One would expect that the degree of exposure of Puerto Ricans to a more modern society would be reflected in their behavior as patients. Here in the Bronx very clear differences are not found because the average Puerto Rican has practically transferred his modus vivendi to his present surroundings. They speak their own language, have their religion and cling to their cultural expressions. I do not see much evidence of social change in the Bronx. Their educational level ought to be improved. Mothers still have an exaggerated preoccupation with the health problems of their male children (machismo).

Question

With regard to following medical instructions, taking medicines, keeping appointments promptly and seeking medical attention when necessary, have you noticed any difference in attitudes as patients among Puerto Ricans in the forementioned categories:

a) born in Puerto Rico of Puerto Rican parents living here only a short time,
b) born in Puerto Rico of Puerto Rican parents living here for a long time,
c) born here of Puerto Rican parents living her for a long time,
d) born here of parents of Puerto Rican ancestry.

Answers

Dr. W.: The newly arrived Puerto Rican is not accustomed to following instructions. He has a tendency to visit different health centers, thereby confusing himself as well as his doctor. He generally goes only as a last minute em rgency and is a patient whose record is dispersed in many places. Therefore the medical attention he receives is focused on the symptoms of the moment instead of being based on a comprehensive knowledge of his medical history. Besides, depending mostly on non-professional remedies, he decides for himself what medicines to take and also uses medicines prescribed for other people, or medicines that are old and no longer effective. He is a great believer

in medicinal herbs and homeopathic medicines. Naturally his low level of education has a great deal to do with this. Remember that the average Puerto Rican who comes here is the underprivileged in Puerto Rico, the marginal man, the one with less education, the one for whom there is no alternative except migration.

On the other hand the Puerto Rican who has been living here a long time or--even more so--was born here, has a definitely superior formal education compared to that of the newly arrived. (Even those who do not have more years of completed education, by virtue of exposure to the environment, have absorbed much of what surrounds them). He is a more modern type, more sure of himself, more self- ufficient. He understands better the importance of following medical instructions, of keeping his appointments and of following the treatment through to the end.

Dr. X.: As is to be expected the first category comprises the most timid, unstable and unsure of themselves. The second category is perhaps, if one observes very closely, just a bit more modern. Those in the third category are more experienced and maybe more responsible as patients but still the difference is not very clear. Those in the fourth category are very few and still very young so that their behavior is more or less set by the norms of their parents. In general, the change is very gradual; perhaps it can be said that with longer exposure, more education and higher income the Puerto Rican will gradually adopt these medical attitudes which I think are essentially those of the middle class.

Dr. Y.: Your question is difficult to answer since I have not been accustomed to classify my Puerto Rican patients into these categories. I have the impression that those in the first group are most punctual and are easiest to treat. As they only know a few health centers, their dependence on us is greater and they tend to abide by all the norms and rules. With the passage of time and longer exposure to conditions in N.Y. they become very demanding, they are impatient patients who expect quick results. They go from one health cente to another, expecting very much of a doctor and thus are easily and quickly disappointed.

Question

Is there any difference in the level of sophistication as patients Among Puerto Ricans in the four categories we have been talking about? I refer now to how well they are able to define or explain their symptoms (or those of the child), remember how and when they began not to feel well, be precise in their descriptions, display some measure of curiosity and interest in understanding the diagnosis and the treatment, etc.

Answers

Dr. W.: Education and the degree of exposure to a higher level of sophistication explain the differences that can be observed among these categories of Puerto Ricans. The longer a Puerto Rican lives here, the greater are his chances of being a well educated and well oriented patient. The Puerto Rican who has just arrived needs courses in health education because the process of learning achieved merely by experience and the passing of time is slow and painful. It is a shame that funds are not available for such important needs which would speed up the adjustment process of the Puerto Rican in New York.

Dr. X.: All this is closely related to the level of education which the Puerto Rican attains in the course of time. Given their present low level of education, most Puerto Ricans (who come to this clinic) are not very sophisticated medically speaking. They do not know how to keep recordx well or to describe precisely the history of their illnesses. However, they have a strong, almost compulsive concern for good health. They become very much concerned about every little symptom that their children may have. Within their limitations they are able to understand and are curious patients.

Dr. Y.: No, because the majority are very ignorant. Many of them do not even know how to read, much less tell their temperature. They are very much concerned about their health but are unable to describe symptoms in precise terms.

Question

There has recently appeared discussion in the press over the fact that parents at present are tending to abandon or to become careless about preventive medicine practices such as vaccination. Do you believe this problem to be more or less serious within the Puerto Rican community? Why?

Answers

Dr. W.: Puerto Ricans are very unsystematic in the practice of innoculating themselves against diseases, much more so than the Northamerican. This is due to their low educational level which does not enable them to assess the importance of preventive medicine as compared with the risks involved in curative medicine. The average Puerto Rican relies a great deal on sporadic treatment because he does not plan systematically and is not

accustomed to recognize fully the importance of health problems. Any such generalization, of course, is relative. To the extent that individual Puerto Ricans have adjusted to the way of life here, to the requirements of the school system and of other institutions (e.g. work) which encourage preventive practices they adopt a pattern of conformity which makes them more like the people here. It is a question of time and patience.

Dr. X.: Most Puerto Ricans have little children vaccinated as a matter of routine and probably without thinking much about it. One major difficulty is that they do not always know how to keep their records up to date. Often they don't even know how to read.

Dr. Y.: No, they get themselves vaccinated and fortunately in the health centers we keep their records for them.

Question

What do you believe are the principal causes of mortality among Puerto Ricans?

Answers

Dr. W.: I have not studied the statistics and cannot give you a definite answer. It is my impression however that they must be the various respiratory illnesses, infectious hepatitis and even drug addiction.

Dr. X.: I cannot speak with much authority since I have not consulted the figures. Most probably they are pneumonia, diabetes, accidents, cirrhosis of the liver, arteriosclerosis, cancer and heart diseases.

Dr. Y.: I do not know.

Questions	Dr. W.	Dr. X.	Dr. Y.
a) How many patients on the average are attended to daily in this center?	Too many	123	120
b) What percent of them are Puerto Ricans	60-70%	98%	60%
c) How many doctors are there altogether in the center?	very few	16	21
d) How many of these doctors speak Spanish?	very few	90%	60%

Question

Have you noticed whether there exists any difficulty in the doctor-patient relationship among Puerto Ricans because of communication problems involving language?

Dr. W.: Yes, of course.

Dr. X.: Yes, of course. Most Puerto Ricans prefer a Spanish speaking doctor with whom they can communicate better. Puerto Ricans are a sensitive and affectionate people who require a personal rather than a professional relationship. The degree of rapport that can be established must be more effective with a Spanish speaking doctor than with an English speaking one.

Dr. Y.: Not in this center where we have an adequate Spanish speaking staff. It is certainly a problem in those centers which depend on translation for communication.

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APPENDIX B

STATISTICAL TABLES

Appendix Table 1. Net Number of Migrants from Puerto Rico to U. S. Mainland: 1940 to 1974
(numbers in thousands)

	From Puerto Rico	To Puerto Rico
1940-44	13.1	-
1945-49	131.9	-
1950-54	265.5	-
1955-59	204.3	-
1960-64	58.1	-
1965-69	86.7	-
1970-74	-	24.2

Appendix Table 2. Puerto Rican Population by States: 1970 and 1960
(numbers in thousands)

State	*1970* Total	Born on Island	Mainland	*1960* Total	Born on Island	Mainland
Total U.S.	1391.5	810.1	581.4	892.5	617.0	275.5
New York	879.0	505.9	373.1	642.6	448.6	194.0
New Jersey	136.9	83.5	53.4	55.4	39.8	15.6
Illinois	88.2	53.7	34.5	36.1	25.9	10.2
California	47.0	23.7	23.3	28.1	15.5	12.6
Pennsylvania	45.0	25.3	19.7	21.2	14.7	6.5
Connecticut	38.5	24.9	13.6	15.2	11.2	4.0
Florida	29.6	18.6	11.0	19.5	14.2	5.3
Massachusetts	24.6	16.8	7.8	5.2	3.4	1.8
Ohio	21.1	11.3	9.8	13.9	9.2	4.7
All other	81.6	46.4	35.2	55.3	34.5	20.8

Appendix Table 3. School Attendance Rates: 1970

	Age 7-13	14-17	18-24
Puerto Rican			
Island born			
New York	92.6	76.5	10.9
Other States	93.9	78.0	12.9
Mainland born			
New York	95.2	90.0	28.8
Other States	96.3	91.3	30.8
General U.S. population	97.3	92.7	32.3

Appendix Table 4. Years of School Completed: 1970

	Born on Island and living in:				*Born on Mainland and living in:*				*U.S. general population*
	New York		*Other States*		*New York*		*Other States*		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Total age 16 and over, No.	196,494	238,727	125,674	116,831	42,964	45,679	23,823	22,719	-
Under 8 years, %	35.2	52.2	35.2	38.7	11.9	11.6	14.3	14.3	-
8 years	14.0	12.7	12.8	12.1	8.5	6.6	8.2	7.0	-
9-11 years	29.9	25.2	25.2	22.8	45.8	42.9	35.0	34.8	-
12 years	17.0	16.7	18.1	18.1	24.7	31.8	25.0	29.5	-
13-15 years	2.9	2.4	5.5	5.4	7.3	5.6	11.4	10.0	-
16 years and over	1.0	0.8	3.2	2.9	1.8	1.5	6.1	4.4	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-
% high school graduate	20.9	19.9	26.8	26.4	33.8	38.9	42.5	43.9	-
% entered college	3.9	3.2	8.7	8.3	9.1	7.1	17.5	14.4	-
Median years	9.0	8.6	9.0	8.9	10.9	11.2	11.4	11.5	-
Age 20 to 24 years, No.	26,796	34,958	24,339	22,098	8,870	10,773	4,972	4,325	16,105
Under 8 years,%	19.4	21.8	22.2	25.0	7.9	6.5	6.5	9.3	3.8
8 years	10.4	9.7	9.7	11.6	5.1	4.1	4.2	4.0	2.9
9-11 years	36.9	32.3	26.7	25.1	32.2	27.2	23.3	17.0	14.7
12 years	27.3	31.3	29.0	28.1	38.5	47.8	37.8	43.3	41.4
13-15 years	5.3	4.2	10.1	8.1	14.6	12.3	23.5	22.0	28.3
16 years and over	0.7	0.7	2.2	2.1	1.7	2.1	4.7	4.4	8.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% high school graduate	33.3	36.2	41.3	38.3	54.8	62.2	66.0	69.8	78.6
% entered college	6.0	4.9	12.3	10.2	16.3	14.4	28.2	26.4	37.2
Median years	10.6	10.7	11.0	10.7	12.1	12.3	12.3	12.3	12.7

Appendix Table 5. Average Income in 1969, For Persons Having Income, Age 25 to 64*

	Men	Women
Puerto Rican		
Island born		
New York	$5490	$3250
Other States	6380	3370
Mainland born		
New York	6840	4000
Other States	8030	4070
General U.S.	9430	3850

*Standardized on the basis of total U.S. age distribution

Appendix Table 6. Average Family Income in 1969, by Characteristics of Head

	Total	Wage or salary	Social Security	Public Assistance
Puerto Rican				
Island born				
New York	$6340	$7060	$1500	$2450
Other States	7610	7780	1440	2120
Mainland born				
New York	7570	8370	1670	2350
Other States	9630	9350	1510	1950
General U.S.	10930	10170	1630	1300

APPENDIX C

Part A. Some Comments on Mixed Marriages

Insights as to the probable results of mixed marriages, Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican spouses, is provided on the basis of ten interviews. Perhaps the outstanding comment is that the children of such marriages are rapidly taking on the characteristics, or at least some of them, of the general U.S. population.

Part B. Living in New York vs. Elsewhere

The respondents suggest that differential job opportunities for men as compared to women, leads to a preponderance of women in New York and men elsewhere. This is what we surmised on the basis of the Census statistics. What is perhaps of major interest is the fact that the ordinary "man in the street" seems to be aware of these differential job opportunities; there must be an effective unofficial communications system.

Part C. Women as Family Heads

The interviews suggest that what might be termed "women's lib" is an important factor. The Puerto Rican woman living on the Mainland is reportedly revolting against the male dominance on the Island.

Part D. Youth and Schooling

The reasons advanced as to why many youth fail to finish high school are the standard ones, broken homes, desire for a "quick buck," lack of educational motivation, etc. The parents who responded sound as though they are desirous of having youth finish high school, but seem to lack the power or influence to have the youth do so; perhaps this is another aspect of the generation gap.

Part A. Some Comments On Mixed Marriages

Interviews with only ten mixed Puerto Rican families selected on the basis of convenience instead of their representativeness of all Puerto Rican marriages cannot be expected to yield conclusive findings. Used with caution, however, they can serve as interesting leads and working hypothesis for further investigation.

The main objective of these interviews was to get some idea of the extent to which the families of mixed Puerto Rican marriages are vulnerable to the erosion of their Puerto Rican culture because of their exposure to the process of the American "melting pot."

The Puerto Ricans interviewed consisted of six wives married with non Puerto Rican husbands and four husbands married with non Puerto Rican wives. All the families had at least one child. Two families had only one child and one family had four children. The age of the children in all 10 families ranged from 4 to 14 years. An inspection of some of their characteristics suggests that these families may be somewhat less vulnerable in this respect than the average Puerto Rican mixed marriage. Nine of the ten Puerto Ricans interviewed were born in Puerto Rico. Furthermore, six of the mixed marriages were to other Latin Americans (non-Puerto Ricans) which perhaps gave them further insulation against the influence of American culture. The children of only six of the families were born on the U.S. Mainland. In addition, most of the Puerto Ricans retained ties with Puerto Rico. Only one of the ten hardly ever visited Puerto Rico and eight visited no less than once every two years. Seven of the Puerto Rican parents said that their children visited Puerto Rico regularly. What is more, all ten families went to church at least once a year and nine of the ten families adhered to the Roman Catholic religion that is traditional in Puerto Rico. Perhaps the only indication that these families were not unusually sheltered from the American way of living is that three of the Puerto Rican parents said they spoke English as well as, if not better than, Spanish.

Nevertheless, the influence of life on the U.S. Mainland clearly has exerted its effect. All of the children of the ten families spoke English; in eight of the ten families they spoke English better than Spanish. Although in all except one of the ten families traditional American holidays were celebrated, most of these families also celebrated the national holidays of their countries of origin. The children of six of the ten families, however, liked the American holidays best.

With regard to the preparation of food at home, most of the families (seven out of ten) served all three kinds of food; American food and the food of the country of origin of each parent. Again, the influence of living on the U.S. Mainland was greater on the children. In seven of the ten families the children liked American food best.

In seven of the ten families the Puerto Rican parents interviewed said their children considered themselves to be of American nationality. Five of these seven parents were pleased with this adaption of their children to their land of adoption.

Finally, with regard to the nationality of the majority of the families' friends, six families had friends embracing several nationalities, including Americans. Only four families did not have many American friends. The children of these families were much more americanized in this respect. The children of nine of the ten families had many American friends and schoolmates.

Part B. Living in New York vs. Elsewhere

Question:

1. Do you know anyone (someone in your family, a relative, friend, former neighbor or other acquaintance) who has moved away from New York State?

Answers:

a-j All ten interviewees answered: yes

Question:

2. Data from the 1970 Census suggests a certain tendency among Puerto Rican men to go and live in other States outside New York. To what do you attribute this:

Answers:

a) There are more employment opportunities for men.
b) Less competition because almost all Spanish speaking people live in New York.
c) More work, less taxes, lower cost of living.
d) More employment opportunities for unskilled workers.
e) It is easy to get a job and one can live more economically than here.
f) There is much more work for young men.
g) Because it is almost impossible any longer for men to get work here; they have to compete with Dominicans, Cubans, etc. These others don't yet go there.
h) There is much more work and taxes are lower.
i) Lower cost of living, less corruption,more jobs for men.
j) The unskilled laborer has to go away to where there is less competition. Women get the best jobs here. The Puerto Rican in New York is in competition with both foreigners and with women.

Question:

3. More Puerto Rican women than men seem to have been living in New York, according to the 1970 Census. Why do you think the women have this tendency to stay here while the men either go directly from Puerto Rico to some other State or else move away once they are here?

Answers:

a) There are a number of reasons. Here there are more work opportunities for Spanish-speaking women than anywhere else in the U.S. Besides, women are very familiar with the welfare programs and it is easier for them to take advantage of these. There are also here more recreational facilities and many more people who understand those who don't speak English.

b) Because women come in order to get a man for themselves and think that in a city like this they will have a better chance to find a husband. They themselves spoil it all because so many come that in the long run there are not enough men for all. I think that here also there are more diversions from boredom for women, more and better jobs and an easier life than in other States. The women who don't want to work are supported by the government and those who do want to work in order to live better receive both benefits.

c) More jobs for women than for men here.

d) Job opportunities are better for women in New York. Besides, in a big city like this women are free to do what they feel like without being watched or criticized. I think that those Puerto Ricans who go to other States live in small towns.

e) Because women are frightened by the unknown and they don't dare go to some other place. This is what they know best, thus they come here and they stay here.

f) Because here there are more Puerto Ricans than anywhere else in the world except Puerto Rico and they feel more at home. There are also more factories here, more recreation and besides they feel nearer to Puerto Rico.

g) Because New York is the best there is in the U.S. and they like it. Women don't like to give up their pleasures and satisfactions.

h) Because they can study and work at the same time and live better. In the other States there is not so much work for Spanish-speaking women. Here the girls take a short course and then find a job as secretary or cashier in a supermarket. Already the big department stores are full of Spanish-speaking women while men wash dishes or clean the floors. Women are offered the better jobs.

i) We men no longer find a place for ourselves, not even a job. Women can settle down however they feel like--with relatives, friends or acquaintances, etc. The government favors women. Here in New York it is the women and the dogs who give the orders. I don't blame them, if I were a woman and had to live outside of Puerto Rico, I would live here too.

j) Because women, whether Puerto Rican, American, or something else, like New York

Part C. Women as Family Heads

Question:

1. There are many Puerto Rican women who are family heads and live without husbands. How do you explain this?

Answers:

a) Because women here are more independent for the following reasons:
   1. They can work and earn more than men,
   2. They can live on welfare,
   3. They can do both these things,
   4. They can study and improve their economic opportunities.

b) The woman is no longer dependent on the man. Those who are married keep threatening their husbands with the fact that they can go to work and go on welfare and no longer need their marriage. Children are no longer something that keeps them pinned down, but instead an advantage. My own wife would live better on welfare, since I earn less than what they would give her. The single woman works for herself only and enjoys a great deal of freedom. The three worst plagues here are: woman's liberation, the contraceptive pill, and welfare.

c) The family is bankrupt and there is much separation and divorce. It's the fault of the government which gets into everything. Back in Puerto Rico, if a woman starts becoming fresh with someone, her man gives her a good beating and, since nobody interferes, she stops getting out of line. Here they take the husband to court or even have him jailed. As a result almost anything can happen that will cause the husband and wife to break off and to go their separate ways. As for welfare, you know how that works, don't you? Many couples go so far as to pretend to be separated in order to get welfare. In this city women learn they do not need a husband or mate.

d) Because very often women are more clever than men. How much it costs before a boy finishes his studies! Girls are more docile and are easier to bring up and a well-educated person, whether married or single doesn't need to depend on anyone.

e) Because women have had their brains washed with all this talk of liberation and they have become very demanding. Some are unbearable and pay no attention to whatever their husbands tell them because they can always go to work and earn their own living. The government even takes care of their children in Maternal Centers so that they can work if they want.

f) Because women nowadays are equally well or even better qualified than men to be head of the family. Men are losing their pants. It's part of the system. Women are prepared to live independent lives.

g) Because Puerto Rican men do not stand for their wives wanting to be boss in everything. Here women start talking back right away so that they finally end up being alone. Those who are alone, it is because they want to be alone.

h) This is because there are more women than men here. I know men who have children by several women and haven't married any one of them. I think that the laws here encourage separation, divorce and concubinage. Jobs for men are scarce so that recourse to welfare is necessary.

i) Puerto Rican women do not stand for abuse from men. They know how to defend themselves with their own weapons, are independent and well qualified for work.

j) I believe that the situation must be the same in every large city in the world. It is in the air, it is the style of the times in which we live and Puerto Rican women are no exception.

Part D. Youth and Schooling

Question:

1. Have you any children age 21 or less? How many? Could you tell me the ages of each and in each case whether they go to school or work or perhaps do both?

Answers

a-j) The ten persons interviewed had from one to five children age 21 or less. All of these children were going to school and none was working.

Question:

2. There are young Puerto Ricans in New York who neither work, look for work or go to school. Judging from your observation in your own family and among your relatives, friends, neighbors, and acquaintances, what is the reason for this situation of young people neither working nor going to school?

Answers:

a) The youngsters don't have the patience for acquiring the training that will enable them to earn decent wages. They hear about "allowances" and want to receive one too; they want a lot to buy all that is advertised over television. If the parents cannot afford this, they leave school and are enthusiastic for a short while with what little money they can earn. They pick up lazy habits and don't go back to school.

b) The government here is to blame because it takes all authority away from parents and teachers. If you give your child a beating, you can be put in jail. The boys do whatever they feel like, they take the easy course.

c) These are the consequences of so much divorce, separation, broken families, bad examples. Nowadays no one is able to establish authority, order or responsibility. With so many women living alone with their children, what do you expect?

d) Because they are poor and their parents do not have sufficient education to give them guidance or a stimulating example. They need to earn money quickly and fool themselves into believing that the shortest route is leaving school.

e) Nowadays it is difficult to be educationally ambitious. The boy knows that even with four years of high school he will have to work as a waiter, messenger or porter and earn very little. He realizes that when he finishes high school and looks for a job, experience will also be required. Therefore, he chooses to leave school and acquire that experience when he is only 14 or 15 years old. The worst of it all is that when there are lay-offs, out go the youngsters to hang around the streets with the desires of grown men and the capacity and training of boys. In the long-run they get used to doing nothing and no longer look for work. College is a dream that seems open only to the super-intelligent who are able to win scholarships.

f) The reason is that they are the children of never married, separated or divorced mothers. They are disoriented children who all too easily become useless people. Nobody guides them and they want to be men ahead of time--but men that are good for nothing.

g) Because they have no ambition since the examples that they see around them in this country are very bad. They have realized that dishonesty pays off in terms of living well. What worse example than the Mafia and those who sell drugs and make a lot of money, illegal gambling, etc.? We poor Puerto Ricans are exposed to all this. In Puerto Rico there is no gangsterism, and the environment is better for youth, healthier and more serious. Here even those in the government are corrupt. One only needs to read the newspapers. Watergate stinks.

h) Anyone here who does not at least finish high school must either be stupid or lazy. Parents and teachers need more authority to give the children a good beating and straighten them out. They ought to pass a law prohibiting giving any work, even for a couple of days, to children of school age so that these will find themselves obliged to study. The trouble is that they put into their heads the ambition to have money, but not the training to earn it. Youth is deceived by television.

i) This happens because of the environment of vice, corruption, drugs, alcoholism and poverty in which we live. Do you know where we Puerto Ricans live? In the worst places, with the Blacks, those most despised by Americans. So, what can one expect? Those who study are very many if we consider the surroundings in which we are stuck. Here in New York we Puerto Ricans are "neither beer nor lemonade," but rather a reflection of that nothing that we truly are. With whom do we identify ourselves? With the North-americans? No! With the Puerto Ricans? No! (We lost our own identity a long time ago.) With the Blacks? No!

j) It is the fault of parents who do not inculcate the obligation to be responsible. We are poor devils and you can't expect an elm tree to produce pears.

Question:

3. In your opinion, judging from your observation in your own family and among your relatives, friends, neighbors and acquaintances, how do these young people spend their time?

Answers:

a) Watching television and roaming the streets in the company of corrupt men and women.
b) Doing nothing. They waste their time.
c) Getting into trouble and problems.
d) Sleeping, eating, living at the expense of others
e) Watching television and football games and enjoying themselves in their own way.
f) Doing absolutely nothing good.
g) They go around learning to be useless, delinquent, etc.
h) They watch television, go to the movies, read idiotic things and simply vegetate.
i) Learning vice and other bad things, doing nothing.
j) They waste their time, get bored, drink beer, etc.

Question:

4. How do they support themselves? We are interested in finding out what means of living these youngsters have and who provides them with it.

Answers:

a) They work a short while, then their parents have to support them.
b) Parents, relatives and friends provide for them.
c) Their soft-hearted stupid mothers support them.
d) Their parents support them so that they won't turn to stealing.
e) Their parents have to give them everything.
f) Their family supports them, they become an awful pest.
g) From anything, even from old women.
h) From anything immoral, robbing, drugs, prostitution, homosexuality, etc.
i) From the vices that they learn, such as robbing.
j) All kinds of people support them, they beg, borrow and never pay back.